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ABSTRACT

This report on school desegregation consists of two parts. Part one is made up of two case studies designed to explore the manner in which Federal and State compensatory education policies affect educational equity at the local level in two Michigan districts that have been desegregated for several years. The degree of educational equity in the schools is identified by (1) the extent of resegregation; (2) the extent to which they provide a common educational experience for all students or differentiate objectives, curricula and materials for target students; and (3) achievement outcomes for target students in the various compensatory programs (Title I, Article 3 of the Michigan Public Act 94, Federal and State bilingual programs, and the Emergency School Aid Act). Part two of the report is the result of three symposia held in 1980 at Michigan State University. For the first symposium, media experts were brought together to define desegregation policy issues which might be scientifically researched in order to provide pertinent information to professionals involved in school desegregation. The second symposium was held for educational policy makers at the local, State, and national levels, while the third was attended by legal professionals. In this section of the report, desegregation related issues that have concerned educators since the 1954 "Brown" decision are reviewed, and a new set of concerns as seen by participants from the various professions are raised. (Author/GC)

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ED223736

PROCEDURES AND PILOT RESEARCH TO DEVELOP AN AGENDA FOR DESEGREGATION STUDIES

A Final Report by the College of Urban Development,
Center for Urban Affairs, Michigan State University
of two studies:

Educational Policies and Equitable Education: A Report of Studies of Two Desegregated School Systems

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and

Third Generation School Desegregation Issues: An Agenda for the Future

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March, 1981

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report encompasses two major projects conducted pursuant to this Research Contract. The major goals of these two projects were as follows:

1. To provide specific information about district level effects of current educational policies and programs on desegregation goals.
2. To provide guidance for future school desegregation research reflecting the practical needs and concerns of professionals from other disciplines as their work relates to school desegregation.

The rationale for the first of these two projects derives from the fact that school desegregation, whether under a court-ordered plan or as a result of voluntary action, takes place within the context of numerous other educational policies and programs. These policies and programs, involving federal, state, or local actions, may help or may hinder the implementation and outcomes of desegregation efforts when they come together at the district level. Little is known, however, about the actual effects of the interaction between these educational policies and programs and the desegregation process or about specific policy steps that may need to be taken to control those effects.

This study was conducted to describe the manner in which selected federal and state educational policies affect educational equity at the local school district level in two districts that have been desegregated for several years. The educational policies and programs fall under the rubric of compensatory education. They include Title I of the Elementary and

Secondary Education Act, 1965; Article 3 of the Michigan Public Act 94 (1979); bilingual educational programs supported by both the U.S. Government and the State of Michigan; and, to a limited extent, the Emergency School Aid Act.

In this study, the degree of educational equity in the schools is identified by (1) the extent of resegregation within the schools; (2) the extent to which schools provide a common educational experience for all students or differentiate in objectives, curricula, and materials for target students; and (3) the achievement outcomes for target students in the various compensatory programs.

Although compensatory education programs have generally been intended to contribute to equal educational opportunity for racial and ethnic minorities, this study examines whether and to what extent these programs actually may have enhanced educational equity in two desegregated school districts or may have functioned to maintain or enhance educational inequities.

While this study describes the way in which federal and state educational policies and programs have functioned in only two school districts, these case studies should provide a foundation for the design of more comprehensive research on the impact of educational policies and programs on educational equity.

The methods in this study were designed to determine the degree to which the implementation of compensatory education programs--Title I, Article 3, ESAA, and bilingual--in these two school districts enhanced the equality of educational opportunity. The criteria for determining the contribution of each program to equality of educational goals were: (1)

the extent of resegregation within the schools; (2) the degree to which the schools provided a common educational experience for all or differentiated in objectives, curriculum, and materials for target students; and (3) the achievement outcome among target students in the various compensatory programs.

Three basic procedures were used to obtain the information reported in this study: (1) conducting focused interviews, (2) making observations, and (3) reviewing related district documents, proposals, and reports.

Individual focused interviews were conducted with selected central office personnel, principals, compensatory education instructional staff, special education teachers, and regular classroom teachers in the two school districts under study.

Observations of students' educational experiences were conducted, with students randomly selected from the target lists of compensatory education students in each of the districts. The purpose of these observations was to compare and contrast the educational experiences of students involved in various combinations of compensatory education programs and to provide information to supplement the interviewers' data.

The third procedure used, that of reviewing written materials, involved the gathering and reading of a variety of district publications to locate information related to resegregation, differentiation, and outcomes. The documents and district publications reviewed included numerous memoranda and brochures regarding such topics as school and student eligibility for compensatory education programs, desegregation history, and district budgets.

In summary of the findings of this study, it appears that while neither of the two school districts has overtly resegregated within schools on the basis of race, the compensatory education programs which we have examined function in each of the school districts to resegregate the poor and minority students in several ways. The most obvious of these is the practice of "pulling-out" the students for Title I, Article 3, bilingual, and, in some cases, ESAA programs. Eligible students are specifically identified and regularly taken out of the mainstream classrooms for instruction or other activities. These students are generally disproportionately black and/or members of ethnic minority groups.

Pull-out and other patterns of resegregation in the elementary schools generally were due to three factors, according to the staffs in the two districts. The first reason given for the need to provide separate instructional programs is that federal and state regulations encourage the practice. The easiest way for school staffs to provide federal and state agencies with evidence that the allocated resources go only to the target population is to isolate that population from the non-compensatory population. Although the intended or manifest purposes of Title I, Article 3, and bilingual programs are to overcome the disadvantages of target populations and enhance the possibility of an equitable education for all, a latent or unintended function of these programs is to resegregate the target students at least part of the time within the school.

The second criterion used in this study to examine the effect of several federal and state educational programs and policies on desegregation goals was the degree of differentiation in objectives, expectations,

and instructional programs provided target students in comparison to non-target students in the two school districts. Again, there is no evidence that differentiated programs were provided overtly on the basis of race. Programs were differentiated, however, for ethnic minorities with language background different from English. In accord with what were perceived as appropriate bilingual educational programs, minorities identified by a different language and cultural origin were systematically provided differential instruction in English and, to some extent, in their native language and culture.

Although the Title I and Article 3 compensatory education programs did not overtly differentiate between blacks, whites, and other minorities, the eligible and target populations were clearly disproportionately black and ethnic minority students.

The primary goals of federal Title I, bilingual, and Emergency School Aid Act programs are to assist in overcoming educational disadvantages and to provide equitable education. These are clearly in harmony with the goal of desegregation, that is, the equal protection of the laws, or equitable education. The state compensatory education program under Article 3 of Michigan Public Act 94 has a similar goal with particular reference to basic skill achievement. Analysis of the way in which these programs have functioned in two desegregated school districts indicates that the specified programs have not provided equal protection and equality of education as measured by the criteria of resegregation, differentiation, and achievement.

The emphasis in the federal and state policies and guidelines for the several programs tends to reinforce, perhaps require, differentiation and resegregation. Pull-out for separate differentiated educational services for compensatory education students is stimulated by the need to account for the use of resources for the eligible population and the emphasis upon supplementary service rather than supplanting regular services. This pull-out, combined with the theories of individual differences in learning abilities and individual needs, clearly promotes the practices of differential objectives, differential expectations, and differentiated programs with the concomitant resegregation of students.

If the two case studies of desegregated school districts are typical of desegregated schools, the policies and practices characteristic of Title I, Michigan Article 3, bilingual, and ESAA programs should be changed. These policies should emphasize the goal of equitable high quality education for all, rather than endorsing differentiated individualized educational objectives. School districts should be rewarded for overcoming the disadvantages of the target populations, whether minority or majority students, rather than for maintaining these students in the programs and limiting their level of achievement. Programs should be devised that promote desegregation and equitable outcomes within the schools in harmony with the goals of a balanced student body composition.

Pursuant to the second major goal of the contract, three symposia were held at Michigan State University. The premise supporting each of these symposia was that future research should be based not only on the interests of educational researchers but also on the needs of individuals in other professions, as their work relates to school desegregation. If

research on desegregation is to provide knowledge which can be applied by all who mandate, implement, or evaluate desegregation plans, it is necessary that those who participate in the desegregation process have a voice in shaping the nature of future research.

Both general interest and concrete ideas were expressed by symposium participants even prior to attending the symposia. Before coming to the symposium involving representatives of the media, participants indicated they were interested in such topics as student interactions and perceptions in desegregated schools, techniques of achieving desegregation, and effects of desegregation on the quality of education. They also expressed interest in how to report desegregation news most effectively in terms of the public interest, whether white flight results from desegregation, and the general effect of the media on the progress of school desegregation.

The second symposium involved representatives of local and state school systems and other educational policy makers on the national level. Again, their interest in having input into the future scope of desegregation research was indicated by the topics in which they expressed interest prior to their symposium. Among these topics were the role of the state in desegregation planning, financing court ordered desegregation, district consolidation vis a vis school desegregation, the role of states in cushioning desegregated school districts against enrollment declines, the treatment of handicapped children under court ordered desegregation, and possible conflicts between desegregation and other programs such as compensatory education and bilingual education. Questions were also raised about the extent of public commitment to school desegregation, the

commitment of the business and professional community, and the possibility of violence as a consequence of school desegregation.

The third symposium was held for attorneys and judges who had been and were currently involved and interested in school desegregation. Among the issues raised concerning the courts' role in school desegregation were court supervision of school districts during desegregation implementation, the use of special masters to oversee desegregation in major urban school districts, demographic changes which may accompany school desegregation, programs of ancillary relief, school-community relationships in desegregation planning and implementation, and the relative effectiveness of various implementation techniques. Other issues included the outcomes for pupils of school desegregation, its impact on residential segregation, and its actual and possible relationships with curriculum.

All these interests were expressed prior to the dates when the three symposia were convened. The proceedings of all three symposia were recorded, transcribed, and summarized, and many specific questions raised therein have been identified.

The outcomes of the three symposia suggest that members of the professions involved have not always availed themselves of the research literature that now exists on school desegregation. Indeed, many of their questions have been addressed by research to a degree that exceeded participants' awareness.

In general, the questions raised by participants fell into the following identifiable dimensions of the desegregation process or products.

1. Educational quality
2. Processes of achieving desegregation
3. Resegregation
4. Ancillary relief
5. Curriculum
6. The relationship between desegregation and achievement
7. Outcomes of specific student racial ratios
8. Attitudes toward desegregation
9. Definitions and perceptions of school desegregation
10. Effects of desegregation on school faculty and staff
11. The role of parents in school desegregation
12. The effects of desegregation on the community
13. Desegregation along economic lines
14. The role of language minorities in school desegregation
15. Alternatives to busing as a technique
16. Resistance and opposition to busing and desegregation
17. Violence in desegregating schools
18. Demographic issues associated with school desegregation
19. Financial aspects and requirements of school desegregation
20. Policies, procedures, and behavior of school boards relative to desegregation
21. Teachers' unions and school desegregation
22. The role of the media in school desegregation

The large numer of questions generated in these symposia do not collectively constitute a definitive research agenda. Setting an agenda

requires evaluating, ordering, and setting priorities. In these terms, a formal agenda did not emerge from the many issues raised and the questions posed. In the interest of avoiding whatever bias may be infused into an evaluation and ordering of these questions, perhaps it should simply be observed that one indication of the importance of a research question is its frequency of citation. Therefore, those areas in which interest is expressed most frequently would seem to merit serious attention in the future research agenda of school desegregation.

Certain areas of research now appear to be gaining in importance and in some cases this reflects the sentiments expressed in the symposia. For example, quality of education is clearly becoming a more pervasive concern in the context of school desegregation. The processes involved in school desegregation also have received much recent attention in ethnographic analyses of single schools and classrooms. Resegregation within desegregating schools and classrooms continues to be a concern, and ancillary relief techniques have become extremely important in virtually all recent desegregation court orders.

The interest which emerged from the symposia, with respect to outcomes broader than the cognitive achievement variables, has also been more widely observed in the literature recently. This promises to continue as an important issue.

In general, many of the issues raised in the symposia either are receiving attention from researchers currently or could feasibly be addressed in research in the near future.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND EQUITABLE EDUCATION

A Report

of

Case Studies of Two Desegregated School Systems

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Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

Desegregation and Educational Equity

School desegregation, whether under a court-ordered plan or as a result of voluntary action, takes place within the context of many other educational policies and programs. These policies may stem from federal, state, or local actions and may either help or hinder the implementation and outcomes of desegregation efforts when they come together at the district level. Little is known about the effects of the interaction among educational policies and programs and the desegregation process or about specific policy steps that may need to be taken to control those effects.

The purpose of this research is to describe the manner in which selected federal and state educational policies affect educational equity at the local school district level in two districts that have been desegregated for several years. The educational policies and programs to be examined are broadly identified as compensatory education. They include Title I of the Elementary Secondary Education Act, 1965; Article 3 of the Michigan Public Act 94 (1979); bilingual educational programs supported by both the U.S. government and the State of Michigan; and, to a limited extent, the Emergency School Aid Act.

For the purposes of this study, the degree of educational equity in the schools will be assessed by (1) the extent of resegregation within the schools; (2) the extent to which schools provide a common educational experience for all students or instead, differentiate in objectives, curricula, and materials for target students; and (3) the achievement outcomes for target students in the various compensatory programs.

The 1954 Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education declared that racial separation in schools denies black students equal protection of the law. This decision has contributed to a national policy of equality of educational opportunity of which school desegregation is one important element. This denotes a primary goal of mixing races in school facilities; but in addition to the achievement of racial balance in individual schools through busing, magnet schools, and a variety of other means, the courts have ruled that racial imbalance within the classrooms of desegregated schools constitutes denial of equal protection.

Literature describing various outcomes of desegregation indicates that the process of desegregation has not consistently reduced the inequity in educational outcomes (St. John, 1975; Weinberg, 1975). The evidence suggests that, in some school districts, the desegregation of student bodies has been followed by a significant reduction in the gap between minority and majority students' measured educational outcomes. In other school districts, the gap in achievement scores has remained essentially the same, and in a few instances even increased. To further reduce such educational inequities between minority and majority students in many districts, the courts have ordered ancillary relief programs in addition to desegregation. The various compensatory education programs financed by both federal and state legislation have generally been intended to serve a similar purpose. Cohen summarized the philosophy behind these ancillary and compensatory programs when he wrote, "The quality of experience seems to be as important as the quantity of bodies." (1974, p. 36).

Although the compensatory education programs identified above have generally been intended to contribute to equal educational opportunity for racial and ethnic minorities, the questions posed by this study examine the extent to which these programs have, in fact, enhanced educational equity in

two desegregated school districts or have, on the contrary, functioned to maintain or enhance educational inequities.

It is important to recognize that this study is in no way a definitive answer to the question. Its purpose is to describe the way in which federal and state educational policies and programs function in only two school districts. These case studies should, however, provide a foundation for the design of more comprehensive research on the impact of educational policies and programs on educational equity.

Although the intent of various compensatory education policies is to overcome the disadvantages of minority and poor children, the consequences of these programs may be quite different than intended. The concept of manifest and latent functions as developed by Merton (1949) is useful in this analysis. The policies implemented as a result of various legislative acts can have consequences that are both intended and unintended. The consequences of implemented policies may be functional, nonfunctional, or disfunctional. When the consequences of a policy coincide with the aim or purpose of a policy, they are identified as manifest functions. If, however, the consequences diverge from the intended aim, they may be considered latent functions. In this context educational policies may result in practices that coincide with the overall aim of educational equity, thus contributing to the goals of desegregation. On the other hand, the same policies may result in programmatic guidelines and practices that diverge from the national policy of educational equality. Our purposes are, therefore, to examine how particular educational policies and programs function in two school districts.

Definition of Concepts

Several concepts crucial to this study have been used by others with somewhat different meanings. Before proceeding we want to clarify the usage in this project.

The Goals of Desegregation: Segregated schools were declared unconstitutional because they denied equal protection of the laws to children in minority schools. The decision clearly indicated that equal education could not be provided in segregated schools. Equality in education is thus identified as the goal of desegregation. The criteria for determining equality have not been clearly defined or established, but several have been used.

Equal access to education is a primary and widely accepted criterion. Since schools and educational programs are not all the same quality, access has come to mean access to the same schools and the same educational programs.

A second criterion may be termed equal participation. Several courts have ordered ancillary relief in addition to racial mixing of student bodies. These procedures, generally intended to equalize the education received within the mixed schools, involve equality of participation in classrooms, courses, educational programs, counseling, and a variety of other educational activities.

A third criterion of equality of education is the outcomes of education. The U.S. Office of Education study of Equality of Educational Opportunity (Coleman, 1969) used the achievement of students as the crucial criterion of equality. This has increasingly become the final criterion for determining equality of education.

The goal of desegregation as used in this study is equality of education for all as determined by equity of access, participation, and outcomes. The terms equality of education, educational equity, and equal educational opportunity are used as synonyms.

Compensatory education is used in this study to refer to any educational program intended to overcome the disadvantages which any group of students may experience in the educational system. The disadvantages may be associated with a variety of factors such as poverty, race, or limited English language proficiency.

Resegregation refers to the practice of separating some groups of students from other groups of students for all or a portion of the school day on a regular and continuing basis. The group is defined as racially and ethnically resegregated if the composition of the group deviates more than 15 percent from the composition of the student population as a whole. Groupings which would not be termed resegregative would include occasional short-term groupings with no potential for identification or for labeling students as superior or inferior. But if differential labeling occurs or is likely to occur through repeated identification of such groups, inequality in education probably exists.

Differentiation refers to educational practices which imply differentiated judgments of the academic worth or potential of two or more categories of students. Differentiation is determined to occur when (1) different educational goals and/or objectives are set for different students; (2) different levels of expectations are held as appropriate for some students and not for others; and (3) different levels of instructional methods and materials are provided for different students in a given age-grade level.

Educational outcomes refers to the desired results of the educational process. These include a wide range of behavioral categories, but in this study the outcomes measured are generally limited to the basic communication and computational skills. In a few instances other cognitive and affective outcomes have been identified.

The Purposes of Compensatory Education Programs

Before examining the function of the four educational programs in the two school districts, it is essential that we determine whether or not the intended purpose of each was in harmony with the goals of desegregation--that is, to assist in providing equal educational opportunity to all students. A brief

analysis of the purposes of each program follows:

Title I

The purposes of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 are cited in Section 101, Declaration of Policy, which states:

> In recognition of the special education needs of children of low income families and the impact that concentrations of low income families have on the ability of local educational agencies to support adequate educational programs, the Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various means (including preschool programs) which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children. Further, in recognition of the special education needs of children of certain migrant parents, of Indian children and of handicapped, neglected and delinquent children, the Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance to help meet the special educational needs of such children.

The passage of this act served notice of the intention of the federal government to assume direct financial responsibility for providing children, particularly the economically disadvantaged, with services that would contribute to their cognitive development. This goal, of providing financial assistance to school districts to fund special services for low achieving children in poor schools to improve their academic achievement, is in accord with desegregation's goal of providing equality of educational opportunity.

Article 3

The State of Michigan, Article 3 of Public Act 94 (1979), entitled Improvement in Basic Cognitive Skills, is a compensatory education act which provides state funds for programs designed to improve the achievement in basic cognitive skills of pupils enrolled in grades K to 6 who have extraordinary need for special assistance to improve competency in those basic skills and for whom the districts are not already receiving additional funds by virtue

of the pupils being physically, mentally, or emotionally handicapped. Article 3 considers pupils in "extraordinary need" as being those who have attained 40 percent or fewer of the state reading and mathematics objectives.

With its emphasis on improvement in achievement, the purpose of Article 3 is congruent with that of providing equality of educational opportunity. In the State of Michigan, large numbers of minority and poor children are in Article 3's target population. In an examination of a representative sample of Michigan public elementary schools, research indicated that students in majority black schools and low socioeconomic white schools achieved a significantly lower mean percentage of reading and mathematics objectives than students in white schools generally, and high socioeconomic white schools in particular. (Brookover, et al., 1979).

ESAA

The Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA, 1972), a program of the United States Office of Education, is designed to meet the special needs incident to the elimination of minority group segregation. It is intended to reduce or prevent minority group isolation in elementary and secondary schools with substantial proportions of minority group students and to aid school children in overcoming the educational disadvantages of minority group isolation (Section 702, Emergency School Aid Act). Clearly this program is intended to foster educational equity for children attending desegregated schools.

Bilingual Education

Other compensatory education programs which focus on equity are the various bilingual education programs. The importance of bilingual - bicultural education to the securing of equal educational opportunity was expressed by the federal government in 1968 with the passage of the Bilingual Education Act,

Title VII ESEA, and by the State of Michigan with the passage of the State Mandatory Bilingual Program, Section 41-A of Public Act 94. In Title VII the Congress declared the following to be the policy of the United States:

> In order to establish equal educational opportunity for all children (A) to encourage the establishment and operation, where appropriate, of educational programs using bilingual educational practices, techniques and methods, and (B) for that purpose to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies, and to state educational agencies for certain purposes, in order to enable such local educational agencies to develop and carry out such programs in elementary and secondary schools, including activities at the preschool level, which are designed to meet the educational needs of such children, and to demonstrate effective ways of producing for children of limited English-speaking ability, instruction designed to enable them, while using their native language, to achieve competence in the English language (Section 880b).

Similarly, Section 41-A is designed to assist children of limited English-speaking ability to achieve on a level commensurate with students who speak only English. It is designed for "children of limited English-speaking ability who have or reasonably may be expected to have difficulty performing ordinary classwork in English because their native tongue is a language other than English or because they come from a home or environment where the primary language is a language other than English."

It seems clear that the policies cited in Title I of ESEA, Article 3 of Michigan Public Act 94, the Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII of ESEA, and Section 41-A of Michigan Public Act 94 have purposes that coincide with those of equality of educational opportunity. Because of the limitations in defining and enforcing federal and state policies, results do not always conform precisely to intent (Derthick, 1970). The problem, in light of the concept of manifest and latent functions, becomes one of examining the consequences of these public policies as they are implemented in the local district (Whiley et. al., 1973). Are policies implemented in a manner which supports

the goal of equality of educational opportunity (manifest functions), or are the policies latent and either dysfunctional or nonfunctional for the unit (school) in relationship to the goal of equality?

Chapter II: BACKGROUND OF THIS RESEARCH

Historical Background

The early 1960s brought a new focus to the United States government's efforts to improve the achievement of minority and poor students. This strategy, which was devised shortly after the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision, was one of compensatory education.

Compensatory education programs are based on the sociocultural premise that low income and minority children do not perform well in school because of "disorganization in their family structure, inadequate childrearing patterns, underdeveloped language and other unique cultural features" (Persell, 1977, p. 76). Katz writes that low achievement can be attributed to "a basic failure of socialization process in the home . . . early childhood experiences in poverty environments create enduring personality formations that are inimical to effective achievement striving not only in the classroom but, indeed, in virtually all areas of life," (1969, p. 13).

Dolce concurs with Katz:

> A victim of his environment, the ghetto child begins his school career, psychologically, socially and physically disadvantaged. He is oriented to the present rather than the future, to the immediate rather than delayed gratification, to the concrete rather than the abstract. He is often handicapped by limited verbal skills, low self esteem and a stunted drive toward achievement (1969, p. 36).

These children, as a group, have been referred to as "culturally deprived," including the economically disadvantaged and racial and ethnic minorities, such as blacks, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and Mexican-Americans. Compensatory education programs are designed either to remediate or to prevent the assumed

deficits that cause these children to fail in school (Bloom, 1965). These programs are intended to provide services which will remedy the damages imposed by the home or cultural environment so that these children can have an equal opportunity for success in the schools.

Impetus was given to the concept of compensatory education during the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson. Johnson's programs during the era of the Great Society were based on a belief in the self-fulfilling prophecy related to poverty. According to the self-fulfilling prophecy theory, the factors that cause poverty are so interrelated that it is almost impossible for the causes not to become the consequences as well. Johnson's War on Poverty, announced January 8, 1964, in his State of the Union message, made it clear that a "chief weapon of the battle would be better schools, better health, better homes and better training and job opportunities" (Spring, 1976, p. 198). Thus education became an important area of federal policy.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act

The theory of a poverty cycle and the possibility of education as a means of breaking the cycle provided the rationale and the strategy for a major governmental focus on the education of the disadvantaged child. In 1965, Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of which a major component, Title I, focused on the poor child in the funding of a program of compensatory education. Title I became the major educational component of the War on Poverty.

Although the originators of Title I were concerned with the broad philosophical ideas of the cycle of poverty, redistribution of educational resources, and the elimination of cultural deprivation and educational disadvantage, the act itself specifically cites three fundamental purposes. These purposes were

spelled out in detail in a National Institute of Education (NIE) publication, Evaluating Compensatory Education: An Interim Report on the NIE Compensatory Education Study (1976) and are summarized as follows:

1. To provide financial assistance to school districts in relation to their numbers of low-income children and, within those districts, to the schools with the greatest numbers of low-income students.
2. To fund special services for low achieving children in the poorest schools.
3. To contribute to the cognitive, emotional, social, or physical development of participating students.

Title I provides funds to school districts under state approved projects by the U.S. Office of Education. During the Act's first year, Congress appropriated $775 million to state and local education agencies which accounted for five-sixths of the total funds authorized under ESEA (Bailey and Mosher, 1968). In 1978-79, the cost of this program to the federal government exceeded two billion dollars (HEW Publication No. OE 79-01043). Funds are allocated with the goal of directing them to the school districts and schools serving large numbers of low income children.

The formula used in allocating funds is complex but, in general, provides that each school district receive for each formula-eligible child a percentage of the average expense of educating a child in the state where the district is located. The formula is applied at the county or local education agency level. Title I has not been fully funded since its first year, and the percentage of the average state expenditure received varies from year to year. Although 40 percent is authorized by statute (Public Law 95-561, Section 111 a), in 1977, districts received only 16 percent (NIE, 9-30-77) of the state expenditure for each eligible child.

To insure that Title I funds are distributed according to the statute, there are a number of regulations attached to the funds allocation process, and

the federal government monitors the states to insure compliance with the rules. Similar rules and regulations guide the local education agencies in distributing these funds to schools and pupils. The primary concern is that funds are used for the intended beneficiaries and that the funds actually supplement the expenditures for that population (NIE, 9-19-77).

State and federal regulations exist, in part, because of past district and state misuse of Title I funds to provide general aid for district-wide needs (Berke and First, 1972) and avoidance of the intent of equality of educational opportunity by improving education in existing segregated schools (D. Cohen, 1969). States and local districts are responsible for program monitoring to make sure that minimum standards are met for compliant resolution, auditing, technical assistance, dissemination of information, record keeping, fiscal control, fund accounting, enforcement, reporting, etc. (PL 95-561, Section 171-174).

In addition to the funds allocation requirements, there are a number of requirements that districts must use in the design and implementation of their programs. Described in Section 124, these requirements include the following:

1. Assessment of Educational Needs
2. Formal Plans
3. Sufficient Size, Scope and Quality
4. Coordination with other Programs
5. Evaluations.
6. Information Dissemination
7. Sustaining Goals
8. Participation of Parents and Staff
9. Training of Educational Aides

The above program development regulations and the funds allocation rules provide a framework for state and local education agencies as they develop and implement projects under Title I. State and local agencies have the flexibility of imposing additional regulations as long as they are within the context of the federal framework. As a consequence, the funds allocation and program development processes differ as they are implemented in the various states and local school districts.

The State of Michigan, Article 3, Public Act 94

Title I is not the only legislation which focuses on the "disadvantaged" or "deprived" child. Since 1963, when California enacted the first state compensatory program, other states have begun to appropriate funds to school districts to meet the special educational needs of poor children. In 1971, the Michigan State Board of Education asked the state legislature for funding of programs to provide additional support for compensatory education in Michigan. The legislature appropriated $22,500,000 for compensatory education during the 1971-72 school year. In 1979-80, $32,936,500 was allocated (Article 3, Section 31).

Article 3 of the State of Michigan, Public Act 94 (1979) entitled, "Improvement in Basic Cognitive Skills," provides state funds for programs "designed to improve the achievement in basic cognitive skills of pupils enrolled in grades K to 6, who have extraordinary need for special assistance to improve competency in those basic skills and for whom the districts are not already receiving additional funds by virtue of the pupils being physically, mentally, or emotionally handicapped."

This article considers those in "extraordinary need" to be pupils who have attained 40 percent or fewer of the reading and mathematics objectives as measured by the Michigan Educational Assessment Program Test.

Funds are allocated at the rate of $250.00 per eligible pupil to districts which have 15 percent or more of their K-7 pupils attaining 40 percent or less of the reading and mathematics objectives over three years as measured by the Michigan Educational Assessment Program. Allocations to eligible districts, as determined by the formula, are distributed in descending order to districts with the greatest concentrations of eligible pupils until the appropriated funds are exhausted. Like Title I, Article 3 has several statutory requirements

designed to insure that the funds support special services for the intended students and are not used as general school aid. Section 35 of Article 3 requires that:

1. The district has applied for the funds on a department form.
2. The district show comparability among schools within the district.
3. The district involve parents, teachers and administrators in program planning and implementation.
4. Not less than 50 percent of the funds be spent in areas that have high concentrations of low income pupils as described in Title I legislation.
5. Pupils selected be educationally deprived and selected from among the low achievers.
6. Programs have performance objectives and these objectives be evaluated.
7. Services be specific to the needs of the participating children and be suplementary.
8. Records of compliance be kept.

Like Title I, Article 3 programs are monitored to insure compliance with the requirements, and state rules and regulations further specify how districts must meet the requirements of the statute.

Bilingual Programs

Bilingual education programs emerged from early Supreme Court decisions concerned with the constitutional rights of private schools to offer foreign language instruction and the rights of students to attend these schools in place of public schools. As early as 1923 in Meyer v. Nebraska (262 U.S. 390), the court ruled to invalidate the prohibitions against foreign language instruction in private schools. Prohibitions against this instruction were said to violate the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment. This decision was further supported in Farrington v. Tokushige (273 U.S. 284, 1927). More recently the courts have been confronted with the issue of the rights of students

of limited English speaking ability in schools receiving federal assistance.

In Lau v. Nichols (414 U.S. 563, 1974) the court ruled that a school district in California which received federal funds must provide either bilingual or English-as-a-second-language courses whenever students of a non-English speaking background are enrolled in large numbers in the district's schools. In Serna v. Portales (499 F. 2d 1149, 1974), relying on Lau, the court ordered bilingual education programs as a remedy in a civil rights action.

Concerns about the education of ethnic minorities resulted in the passage of Title VII of ESEA and Section 41-A of Michigan Public Act 94. Both of these acts have rules and regulations similar to those of Title I and Article 3 previously discussed. These rules and regulations require evaluation, advisory committees, reporting, and setting measurable objectives. States and local educational agencies in turn have developed implementation guidelines and strategies to provide direction to the schools receiving funds under these programs.

Related Research

With the large dollar amounts expended on compensatory education, it seems reasonable that evaluation and research efforts would focus on the results of these programs.

The fundings of early research on compensatory education and achievement have been summarized by Averch (1972) as follows:

1. Beneficial results are rarely found in the large scale studies, though a few short run smaller surveys tend to show modest positive effects.
2. Pupils from the more disadvantaged economic backgrounds seem to have greater progress in highly structured programs.
3. The short run gains fade away rapidly if not reinforced.
4. The level of funding is not a sufficient condition of success.

The Education Amendments of 1974 (Public Law 93-380) directed the National Institute of Education to conduct a comprehensive study of compensatory education programs. Congress requested that NIE examine the accomplishments of compensatory education programs over the previous ten years and seek information as to how they might be improved. In response, NIE examined the legislation and contracted for research to judge whether Title I and, to a lesser degree, other state compensatory education programs had met the funding objectives in delivery of services for child development.

The results of NIE's research, as reported by the National Advisory Council on Education of Disadvantaged Children, indicated that 90 percent of all school districts received Title I funds, used primarily in the elementary grades to serve more than six million children with program emphasis in basic skills instruction. However, the survey noted that due to limited funding only 66 percent of eligible children were served.

The instruction for Title I students was largely individualized and in small classes. An average of five and one-half hours per week were spent in special instruction.

The Instructional Dimensions Study (Kischner, 1976) examined the location of instruction and found that first graders did better when in mainstream rather than pull-out instructional programs.

According to the Kischner study, 75 percent of the children in compensatory education programs received pull-out instruction. This method removes compensatory education students from regular classrooms. The study noted that while most compensatory education students are in heterogeneous homerooms, 24 percent of these students receive all of their instruction in groups composed of only compensatory education students. Though this procedure may insure that the programs are not supplanting, it constitutes a type of homogeneous grouping.

Ability grouping, the most common type of homogeneous grouping, arranges groups of students in different sections or classrooms within a grade (Mills and Bryan, 1976). Students are placed on the basis of their performance on standardized tests, past academic performance, teacher, counselor, or administrative recommendation, or some combination of these criteria. The aim is to create groups of students with similar characteristics which are felt to affect learning. According to Rosenbaum (1976, p. 5), "ability grouping selects on the basis of ability, differentiates instruction by quantity and intensity of work, and attempts to suit work to each student's unique intellectual abilities." The goal of such grouping is instructional improvement. The practice in compensatory education programs is similar. Students are tested and the lowest achievers are provided with compensatory education services, primarily outside the regular classroom.

Another type of homogeneous grouping is tracking which attempts to "homogenize classroom placements in terms of students' personal qualities, performance or aspirations" (Rosenbaum, 1976, p. 6). Tracking is particularly prevalent in secondary schools where students are assigned to curriculum groupings such as College Preparatory, Business,or General, based on a variety of factors of sometimes questionable validity.

In both ability grouping and tracking, the plan is to increase the homogeneity of student groups based on some specific performance. According to a Findley and Bryan Study (1971) on ability grouping, approximately 82 percent of the districts studied used test scores as the sole basis or one of the criteria for student placement.

Much research has been done on ability grouping to determine its advantages and disadvantages. Research has considered the effect of ability grouping on achievement, affective development, opportunity, and stratification. Studies

have shown that due to ability grouping and homogeneous grouping practices, black and white students lead almost entirely separate lives in many racially mixed schools (D. Cohen, 1974) and, as a result of such practices, minority students' opportunities for higher occupational and educational attainment are diminished (E. Cohen, 1975).

Compensatory Education and Resegregation

Compensatory education programs that place disadvantaged or deprived youngsters together for instruction have the potential for aiding in the process of resegregation.

As a result of desegregation policy, the racial mix of students within schools may vary greatly from school to school. In addition, it is widely known that desegregated schools display wide variations in the way in which students are distributed in various classrooms and programs within the racially mixed environment. In some desegregated schools, classrooms and programs may be such that minority students are evenly distributed while in others, within the same desegregated district, minorities may be concentrated in some classrooms and programs while being underrepresented in others.

Minority over- or underrepresentation in classrooms and programs may result from intentional efforts to produce resegregation or may be a latent function of the implementation of specific programs or policies such as compensatory education. Placement practices within the desegregated schools have an important impact on the racial composition of the classrooms and programs within the desegregated environment. One of the most frequently used placement practices for bringing about resegregation is class placement by ability (Levin and Moise, 1975).

Data on the racial composition of compensatory education programs suggest that these programs can have resegregative effects. Glass (1970) has expressed

the concern that pull-out instruction, a type of placement based on ability, produces this effect. NIE data shows that nationally, higher proportions of minority students are enrolled in compensatory education programs than their total enrollment. (NIE, 7-31-77). NIE data also indicate that there is a significantly higher proportion of minority group children in classrooms which contain compensatory education students than in the districts as a whole. The disproportionalities cited remain basically constant across grades. (NIE 12-30-76).

The presence of disproportionate numbers of minority children in certain classes and programs has provided the impetus for litigation. The most noteworthy case involving the resegregative effects of ability grouping and tracking is Hobson v. Hansen (269F. Supp. 401). This case involved the ability grouping and tracking practices of the Washington, D.C. School System. Plantiffs alleged that these practices discriminated against poor and black children only. They presented evidence to show how these practices resulted in resegregating the races. The court held that a system of grouping which places minority students in the lower curriculum groups and inhibits movement between groups is unconstitutional.

A similar case was Larry P. v. Riles (343F Supp. 1306, 1972), filed against the San Francisco Unified School District. Relying heavily on the Hobson v. Hansen decision, the court ordered the defendant to refrain from dependence on I.Q. tests in placing black students in EMR classes, if the consequence was racial imbalance as had been demonstrated in the plantiffs' statistics for the San Francisco Unified School District.

Research studies designed to determine the effects of racial mix in the classroom have tended to support the courts' decisions on the importance of racial balance in the classroom. (McPartland, 1968).

Hickerson (1963), in a California high school study, attempted to learn

whether minority and nonminority students received similar kinds of educational experiences. He found that proportionally, black representation in the advanced English sections and college preparatory curriculum was lower than that of white, Mexican-American, and Filipino students.

Rist (1978), in a case study of the integration of thirty black students in the Brush Elementary School in Portland, Oregon, reached a similar conclusion. He observed that although the children were said to be "placed in classes without regard to race, the black students usually ended up in the lower half of the class."

The National Institute of Education has included placement practices as one of the mechanisms which enhances resegregation in education. NIE views this problem as one of its priority research concerns as educators begin to deal with second generation desegregation issues. NIE considers the long term effects of resegregative placement practices "profound for life chances and adult opportunities" (NIE, p. 22).

In a comprehensive review of the research on the relationship between school desegregation and academic achievement, Weinberg (1975) concluded that one of the important factors which lead to dramatic gains in the achievement of racial minorities in desegregated schools is comparable desegregation at the classroom level and a lack of rigid placement by ability.

The federal government is also concerned about the impact of placement practices on the racial mix of students in desegregated schools. Districts may become ineligible for certain funds if they maintain any practice, such as ability grouping, that racially isolates students (Mills and Bryant, 1976).

Even though the intent of these practices may not be racially motivated, the consequences appear to disproportionately relegate minority students to lower ability groupings, such as compensatory education classes, thus

resegregating them within the desegregated setting. "Substantial minority overrepresentation in these programs is universally found, no matter who undertakes the inquiry -- whether education researchers, litigants objecting to particular classification practices, or even state departments of education (D. Kirp, 1973, p. 761). Judge Skelly Wright, in his comments in Hobson v. Hansen, sums up this behavior by educators, stating that "the arbitrary quality of thoughtlessness" can be just as harmful and destructive to students as "the perversity of a willful scheme" (296 F. Supp. at 496).

Compensatory Education and Differentiation

Implicit in the idea of grouping and similar placement practices is the concept of differentiation. As indicated above, differentiation refers to educational practices which render differentiated judgments of academic worth or potential and which identify classifications or categories of students. Differentiation includes the setting of different goals and objectives with accompanying varied levels of expectations and the use of different instructional methods and curricular materials which may ultimately limit student mobility both within the school and in society.

Although current educational practices in the U.S. subscribe to the idea of differentiation, this has not always been the case. Common schools, a prevalent educational institution during the early nineteenth century, were based on the principle of equity in education and, to that end, the goal was to provide a common educational experience for all children irrespective of background (Coleman, 1969). The common schools concept changed during the 20th century as American education began to prepare children for differentiated occupational roles in society (Hurn, 1978). The idea of equality became one of providing individual children with the kind of program that best met their

individual needs. Students were tested, classified, and assigned to programs with curriculum designed to prepare them for "differential destinies" (Brookover, et al., 1974).

The importance of public education for selecting and subsequently channeling students through differential educational experiences was further enhanced in the 1950s by an emphasis on differentiated education for talented youth and in the 1960s with a similar differentiation for disadvantaged youth (Spring, 1976).

The concept of equality became one of developing special educational programs intended to provide equal chances for children of all backgrounds. The differentiating function, instead of the unifying function, became the mode (Gumbert and Spring, 1974) and individualization of instruction, the primary method. Reconciling the distinction between equality as equal access to a common curriculum and addressing individuality of needs can be difficult in the classroom, where teachers cannot be sure that the differentiation of work to meet individual needs does not serve to increase inequities which grouping was designed to avoid (HMI, 1978).

Brookover, et al. (1974), in their presentation of two ideal types of educational systems, draw a distinction between the equality-oriented school and the differentiation-oriented school. In the equality-oriented school, there is no formal identification of differences or classification and labeling of students. Students are randomly clustered and share common goals and curriculum. In the differentiation-oriented school, there exist carefully planned systems for identifying student differences and policies and practices which classify, label, and assemble students for individual instruction and differential goals and curriculum. As is the case with ideal types, rarely is a pure form present in reality. Brookover, et al. note, however, that the prevalent type of school in America fits the differentiation-oriented model.

Based on the idea of differences, students are subsequently placed into programs, such as compensatory education, which are designed to remedy these differences. According to some, this practice serves to enhance the differences rather than alleviate or diminish them.

The post Brown v. Board of Education era provides still another focus on equality that is related to differentiation. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, ESEA of 1965, and the Equality of Education Study of 1966 placed emphasis on the importance of educational outcomes as a measure of equality. The idea that it was the state's obligation to provide equal educational outcomes for all children began to receive some acceptance. Attempts to provide equal educational outcomes may, in fact, result in a denial of equal educational opportunity. This position is summarized by Brookover and Erickson (1975, p. 384):

> The almost universal belief in limited learning abilities and in the appropriateness of highly differentiated levels of achieving much human behavior causes many to believe that American education cannot and should not be modified to enhance the achievement of students labeled as slow learners. The current emphasis upon individual differences and the resulting individualization of educational programs based upon presumed differences in ability are not likely to produce change that will enhance the learning for all. Most proposals for the improvement of American schools are firmly based on this concept of wide differences in ability to learn and the design of widely differentiated and individualized programs of instruction. Treatments and educational reform based upon this perception are almost certain to enhance the differences in learning rather than maximize the learning for all.

In short, treatment by differentiation or matching individual differences and instructional strategies may serve to maximize those differences. This situation is particularly critical where ethnic group differences are involved. These kinds of assumptions about ability and remediation become apparent when one carefully examines policy decisions such as those that underlie programs of compensatory education.

An analysis of current federal education policies reveals the conscious and deliberate differentiation of students. While it is not the intent of these

policies to deny equal opportunity or to harm students, they may in practice do so.

Research conducted by the American Institute of Research (AIR) on individualization and its relationship to achievement, supports the Brookover-Erickson conclusion. In their study of many federally supported programs, AIR researchers found no evidence that individualization was substantially and positively correlated with achievement. These data are interesting in that compensatory education programs focus on individualization as a goal. In fact, the AIR data indicate that students enrolled in programs with the most moderate emphasis on individualization showed the greatest improvement (Longstep Study, 1976).

Similarly, AIR conducted a study to determine the cognitive and the affective impact of bilingual education on students in Spanish/English bilingual education projects funded through ESEA Title VII. The results showed that the fall-to-fall achievement gains in English, reading, and mathematics were "neither significantly nor substantially different" from what would have been expected without participation in a Title VII Project (AIR, 1978, p. 13).

The Instructional Dimensions Study (Kischner, 1977) found that for both compensatory and noncompensatory education students in first grade reading and math, "the individualization element is not an important predictor of achievement as a unique source."

These studies suggest that programs which differentiate among students have limited value in enhancing achievement. Individualized instruction to assure that all students master common objectives may enhance achievement, but differentiation and individualization practices generally involve different objectives for different students.

Instructional differences between groups were observed by Heathers (cited in Persell, 1977, p. 89) who noted that teachers stressed the acquisition of

facts and used rote drill when dealing with "slow learners," while using approaches that emphasized concepts and independent projects with high ability students. Heathers also noted a nationwide study by Squire which revealed that English teachers used monotonous, uncreative instructional methods with "slow learning" sections.

Persell (p. 90) also discussed a study by Keddie on streaming or tracking in the British comprehensive schools. This study showed that students in different streams received different educational content within the same curriculum.

Stein (1971), in expressing a similar view, noted that black and Puerto Rican kindergarten children are taught "to hang up their clothes and take turns while white children are taught numbers and letters."

As noted earlier, research on placement-by-ability has shown that slight improvements occur in the academic performance of the high ability students and substantial losses for the average-to-low groups. Although other factors such as S.E.S. may be involved in some grouping studies, it may be concluded that the classification by ability contributes to these changes in achievement. Little consideration is given to the possibility that gains by higher groups may result from differential curriculum content, goals, objectives,and/or instructional methods provided to these groups and not to the other groups. It appears, from the studies cited by Persell, that students in the higher groups have access to the instructional methods most valued in education, and that they are also provided with curriculum content that is more advanced. This may result, as in the instance of compensatory education programs, in widening the gap in educational achievement between differentially treated students and in limiting the potential for student mobility. Hobson v. Hansen addressed the issue of limited student mobility within a track system that

provided a "watered down" curriculum to lower ability students in the Washington, D.C. Schools:

> More importantly, each track offers a substantially different kind of education, both in pace of learning and in scope of subject matter... For a student locked into one of the lower tracks, physical separation from those in other tracks is, of course, complete, insofar as classroom relationships are concerned, and the limits on his academic progress and ultimately, the kind of life work he can hope to attain after graduation, are set by the orientation of the lower curriculum... In theory, since tracking is supposed to be kept flexible, relatively few students should actually ever be locked into a single tract or curriculum. Yet, in violation of one of its principle tenents, the track system is not flexible at all.

Rosenbaum (1976) has noted that in addition to the effect that tracking has on such variables as school participation, friendship choices, and the development of social stereotypes, this system also "actually influences students' IQs in ways that support the operation of the track system" (p. 13). Even though these practices may be instituted to serve legitimate pedagogical aims or to meet the statutory requirements of legislative mandates such as Title I and Article 3, they may, in reality, function to restrict student opportunities for mobility by locking them into differential educational experiences which do little to improve their skills and may even assist in maintaining and promoting the variations that led to the initial placement. Thus, in compensatory educational programs, placement may serve to defeat the goals of equality of educational opportunity.

The impact of the programs supported by the Emergency School Aid Act was evaluated after a three year period (Coulson et al., 1977). Although the assumptions regarding treatment and control group research design were not met in some respects, the findings of this research are relevant to our study. The results showed significant evidence of positive ESAA program impact for an elementary school sample in the third year. In five of the six grade level reading and math achievement test, the treatment schools showed larger gains

than the control schools, but only two were statistically significant at the .05 probability level. There was no evidence of program impact in the secondary school sample or a pilot elementary school sample. Overall there was little evidence that the program resulted in a catch-up by this treatment group. The study did show a clear positive association between the number of hours the elementary students spent in mathematics instruction and students' residualized post-test mathematics scores.

Although there is evidence of positive impact on educational outcomes in some of the compensatory education programs identified in this study, it is certainly not conclusive for all of them. An examination of the ways in which such programs function in specific school districts may help in understanding the success or failure of these programs to achieve the goal of desegregation which is to provide equitable education for poor and/or minority students.

The Research Methods

In accord with the purposes of this study, the methods used were designed to determine the degree to which the implementation of compensatory education programs--Title I, Article 3, ESAA, and bilingual--in two school districts enhanced the equality of educational opportunity. The criteria for determining the contribution of each program to the goal of equality of education were: (1) the extent of resegregation within the schools; (2) the degree to which the schools provided a common education experience for all, or provided different objectives, expectations, and materials for target students, and (3) the achievement outcomes among target students in the various compensatory programs.

Three basic procedures were used to obtain the information reported in this study: focused interviews, observations, and review of relevant district documents, proposals, and reports.

Individual focused interviews were conducted with selected central office personnel, principals, compensatory education instructional staff, special education teachers, and regular classroom teachers in the two school districts under study. Using interview guides, the interviewers elicited responses and recorded them. Teachers and aides in District 1 volunteered for the interviews and were paid a modest honorarium for the time spent with the interviewer. Since nearly all staff members were interviewed in each of the schools studied, the possible bias from volunteering was minimized. In District 2, randomly selected teachers were interviewed in randomly selected schools.

Observations of students' educational experiences were conducted with students randomly selected from the target lists of compensatory education students in each of the districts. The purpose of these observations was to compare and contrast the educational experience of students involved in various

combinations of compensatory education programs and to provide information to supplement the interviewers' data. Observers conducted one-day unobtrusive observations of these randomly selected students.

The third procedure used, that of reviewing written materials, involved the gathering and reading of a variety of district publications to locate information related to resegregation, differentiation, and outcomes. The documents and district publications reviewed included numerous memoranda and brochures regarding such topics as school and student eligibility for compensatory education programs, desegregation history, and district budgets.

The criterion used for the determination of racial resegregation, was a variance of fifteen percent or more from the district, school, or classroom racial composition. This standard coincides with the Michigan Board of Education's "Guidelines on Integrated Education Within School Districts" and has been used by the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Where minority participation and eligibility figures were within the range, desegregation was considered present.

The interview data was used to determine whether or not the various staff members applied differentiated learning objectives, expectations, and instruction to compensatory and noncompensatory students. The interview data were treated as information given by reasonably informed participants in the system. The criteria for decision-making regarding differentiation were based on the predominant evidence obtained from the various sources. Where the informants agreed on the ways in which the programs operated, their responses were reported as the fact for the district. Where disagreement existed among the respondents, the discrepancies are reported as such.

The outcomes of the programs were determined by the academic achievement data available. Both school systems had good evaluative data available, but

only limted bases for comparison of outcomes between compensatory education students and other students.

There were some variations in the data available in the two school systems. These will be noted in the following findings for each system.

Chapter III: DISTRICT ONE CASE STUDY

Description of District 1

This case study was conducted in a medium sized, midwestern, urban school district that had been ordered by the court to desegregate. In 1971, the Board of Education of this district appointed a Citizens Advisory Committee on Educational Opportunity and charged it with developing a desegregation plan and timetable for the district.

The Board of Education adopted the plan, but a series of recall elections, board reversals, court actions, and appeals followed. Despite the setbacks, the schools in District 1 were desegregated in several stages during the period from 1971-78.

District 1 had a student population in grades kindergarten through 12 of more than 26,000 pupils in the 1979-80 school year. Of this total, approximately 33 percent were minority.

The district was composed of forty-one elementary schools, five junior high schools, and four senior high schools. It operated in 1978-79 with an annual general fund budget of more than $60 million, with federal and state compensatory education programs providing revenues of more than $7.5 million. Federal and state compensatory education programs in District 1 included Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and Article 3 of Michigan Public Act 94, federal Title VII, ESAA and state bilingual programs, and Emergency School Aid Act programs.

Part A of ESEA Title I, as it operated in this district, was designed to assist underachieving students living in low income areas and to increase their skill levels in reading and mathematics.

Students eligible for programs funded under Title I in the district were identified at the building level; and, according to district guidelines, were to

be selected based on lowest achievement in reading and mathematics. This selection was made by building staff in several ways. Selection of kindergarten and first grade students was based primarily on teacher judgment. In grades two through six, one or more of the following criteria were used:

1. Past participation in Title I Program.
2. District Instructional Guidance Plan.
3. Diagnostic testing from basal series or supplemental materials.
4. Preschool testing for kindergartners.
5. Michigan Education Assessment Program results for upper elementary students.

Ultimately, the building staff had to rank order all students by grade, and those students who had been identified as having the greatest academic need were to be provided Title I services first.

The District Instructional Guidance Plan (DIGP) was used to select the learning objectives for Title I students and to evaluate their success in meeting their objectives. This system uses a mastery learning approach (test-teach-test) which is composed of 135 kindergarten-through-grade 6 reading objectives and 155 kindergarten-through-grade 6 mathematics objectives Each Title I student was expected to master 16 new DIGP reading objectives and/or 16 new DIGP mathematics objectives for the school year.

Like Title I of ESEA, Article 3 of the Michigan School Aid Act provides formal assistance to districts for programs designed to improve the cognitive (reading and mathematics) skills of low achieving students. All of the elementary schools in District 1 received Article 3 funds.

Article 3 eligible participants were identified by ranking all students in one building according to their scores on the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT). The quota of Article 3 eligible students per building was set by the district

and was filled by selecting those students with the lowest Stanford Achievement Test scores until the quota was reached. Schools received approximately $200 for each Article 3 eligible student in the building.

Like Title I, Article 3 cognitive objectives and evaluation criteria were based on the District Instructional Guidance Plan and students were expected to master 16 new DIGP reading objectives and 16 new mathematics objectives during the school year.

District 1 has received ESAA funds since the 1974-75 school year. Twenty schools involved in the desegregation plan have received ESAA funds. The ESAA program has three components: ESAA Basic, ESAA Special Projects, and ESAA Bilingual. In 1979 approximately 1500 students participated in these programs. The goals of the program in District 1 were not limited to improving academic achievement, but included programs designed to improve student self-concept, school attitudes, and parental involvement. In the cognitive realm, ESAA students were expected to achieve 16 new DIGP reading objectives and 16 new DIGP mathematics objectives. In 1979-80 the first priority area of the ESAA program was in the affective category and included a counseling program and programs for use with elementary students to enhance student self-concept, to increase student involvement, and to develop positive social environments. The second primary area, the cognitive category, included remedial reading and math programs, bilingual services, and an arts program. Inservice and human relations programs for teachers were also included.

Students identified for the ESAA reading and math programs must be members of minority groups attending a desegregated school and must be below grade level in reading and/or mathematics. For participation in the ESAA program, bilingual students must be below grade level on the SAT in reading and math, attend a desegregated school, and be Spanish surnamed and/or have another language spoken in the home.

The Title VII and Section 41A Bilingual Programs as operated in this district provided services to students from dual language backgrounds. More than 2,000 students were served in this program during the 1979-80 school year. The groups included American Indian, Spanish, Arabic, Vietnamese, French, and German students. The goals of this program included increasing students' reading, mathematics, and language skills. Students selected for participation were those with a language other than English spoken at home and with scores on the SAT at or below the 50th percentile in reading. Cognitive objectives were that 75 percent of the students would gain 16 new DIGP reading and 16 new DIGP math objectives and that 50 percent would score at or above the 50th percentile on the SAT reading and math tests.

Description of the Sample Schools

Because the policies and programs under consideration existed in this district primarily at the elementary level, the population for this study was limited to elementary schools, three of which were selected for intensive study by the following procedure:

All desegregated schools were categorized on the basis of whether or not they were receiving funds under the Emergency School Aid Act of 1972 and/or the Elementary Secondary Education Act, Title I. Seventeen schools were excluded because they were participating in other major research efforts or special programs. The remaining twenty-four elementary schools comprise the population of schools under study.

These twenty-four schools were grouped into three categories as follows;

Category A -- Those schools that had both ESAA programs and the ESEA Title I programs. Seven of the twenty-four schools fell into this category.

Category B -- Those schools that did not have ESAA programs but did have the Title I program. Eight of the schools fell into this category.

Category C -- Those schools that had neither ESAA or Title I programs. Nine schools fell into this category.

All of the elementary schools in this district participated in the Article 3 program. Each school in each category was assigned a number. Using a table of random numbers, one school from each category was selected for the three-school sample. The schools were identified as School A, School B, and School C, consistent with the selection categories outlined above.

School A was an elementary school serving approximately 300 students in grades kindergarten through four. The student population in 1979 was 44 percent minority. The school received funds from ESAA, Title I, Article 3, and Bilingual, as well as from other programs such as migrant and Indian.

School B was an elementary school serving approximately 300 students in grades kindergarten through six. The student population in 1979-80 was 39 percent minority. The school received funds under Title I, Article 3, and Bilingual, as well as for other programs such as migrant and Indian.

School C was an elementary school serving approximately 350 students in grades kindergarten through six. The student population in 1979 was 26 percent minority. The school received funds from Article 3 and Bilingual programs plus some special migrant and Indian program funds.

Staff Discription

Thirty-one teachers, three principals, thirteen central administrators and seventeen instructional aides were interviewed for this study. All volunteered to participate. Demographic data for personnel in these categories is included in Table 1.

Table 1 -- Demographic Characteristics of Staff Interviewed in District 1.

	Teachers and Aides n = 48		Central Office Administrators n = 13		Principals n = 3		Total n = 64	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sex								
Male	5	(10.4)	7	(53.8)	3	(100.0)	15	(23.4)
Female	43	(89.6)	6	(46.1)	0		49	(76.6)
Race								
Black	10	(20.8)	4	(30.8)	0		14	(21.8)
White	37	(77.1)	8	(61.5)	3	(100.0)	48	(75.0)
Hispanic	1	(2.1)	1	(7.7)	0		2	(3.1)
Level of Education								
High School or Less	10	(20.8)	0		0		10	(15.6)
Some College or Bachelor's	9	(18.8)	0		0		9	(14.1)
Some Graduate or Master's	20	(41.7)	2	(15.4)	1	(33.3)	23	(35.9)
More than Master's	9	(18.8)	11	(84.6)	2	(66.0)	22	(34.3)
Years Experience								
More than 15 years	10	(20.8)	2	(15.4)	3	(100.0)	15	(23.4)
10-15 years	16	(33.3)	2	(15.4)	0		18	(28.1)
3-9 years	12	(25.0)	8	(61.4)	0		20	(31.2)
Less than 3 years	10	(20.8)	1	(7.7)	0		11	(17.2)

Description of the Students Observed

Eight fourth grade students and two third grade students were observed in this study. Of these students, two were Latino, four were black, and four were white. There were five males and five females. Seven of these students were enrolled in compensatory education programs.

Analysis and Results

Resegregation

In addressing the issue of resegregation, the research questions were directed toward examining the nature of the selection process which determined student eligibility for the compensatory education programs under study. Information also was elicited to determine the racial-ethnic characteristics of the students selected. Finally, information was obtained regarding the location of the instructional services provided and the impact of these locational decisions on the racial/ethnic characteristics of the instructional groups.

The selection processes described in school district documents were verified in interviews with the principals. All principals clearly indicated the means by which students were selected for Title I and Article 3 participation. Similarly, all central office administrators interviewed were aware of the criteria. Teachers were aware of the existence of compensatory education programs in their schools, and both teachers and instructional aides were familiar with the selection processes used. When questioned regarding familiarity with the criteria used to select students for participation in the programs, nearly all of the teachers and instructional aides showed knowledge of these criteria. The evidence shows that state and federal guidelines were followed by the district in the selection of Title I and Article 3 eligible students.

All of the regular classroom teachers interviewed stated that they had students in their classrooms who participated in the Title I and Article 3

programs. Staff members indicated knowledge of the tests used to select participants for the programs and of the various cut off points and quotas operating in their schools. Rarely were criteria other than standardized achievement test scores, criterion referenced test scores, or teacher judgment cited by respondents. In some instances, instructional aides indicated that AFDC eligibility was used as a selection criterion. This response probably reflected the fact that these students came from poor families.

Racial Composition of Title I and Article 3 Enrollment

The racial composition of the eligible group resulting from these selection procedures is of particular interest for this research. District data indicated the number of children by racial/ethnic group who participated in Title I and Article 3 activities during the 1979-80 school year. Minority students comprised 48 percent of Title I only enrollment, 59 percent of Article 3 only enrollment, and 48 percent of those enrolled in both Title I and Article 3 programs. Of the total number of children participating in Title I, 48 percent were minority students, while 53 percent of the total Article 3 enrollment were minority. As previously indicated, district K-12 minority enrollment during the 1979-80 school year was 33 percent. Based on the 15 percent criterion for resegregation as defined for this study, Title I enrollment, Article 3 enrollment, and their combined enrollments must be considered resegregated.

A similar situation existed in the compensatory education programs for the three sample schools. Data indicate that of the 281 students participating in Title I and/or Article 3 programs in the sample schools during the 1979-80 school year, 153 or 54 percent were minority students. This percentage is substantially greater than the 33 percent district minority enrollment and the 35 percent district elementary school minority enrollment, indicating resegregation

by program involvement in the three sample schools combined. This figure is also greater than the 52 percent average minority enrollment in Title I only, Article 3 only, and Title I and Article 3 combined district-wide. The data also indicate that this disproportionality is particularly attributable to overrepresentation among black students. These students, while constituting only 22 percent of the district's elementary students, comprised 42 percent of those students from the sample schools who were enrolled in Title I and/or Article 3 programs. Although Caucasian elementary level enrollment figures were at 65 percent district-wide, only 46 percent of those participating in Title I and Article 3 programs at the sample schools were Caucasian.

Minority overrepresentation can also be noted if one considers the combined minority enrollment in the sample schools as compared to minority enrollment in Title I and Article 3 programs. Total minority enrollment at the three sample schools duplicated the 35 percent minority enrollment district-wide at the elementary level. Of the total number of minority students enrolled in the three schools, 53 percent of the Latinos were involved in Title I and Article 3 programs, 46 percent of the black students, 25 percent of the Native American students, and 33 percent of the Asian students. Of the total Caucasian student population in schools A, B, and C, only 21.3 percent were involved in these compensatory education programs.

When the sample schools are considered separately, minority overrepresentation is noted in each (See Appendix A). In School A minorities constituted 63 percent of Article 3 and/or Title I enrollment, while representing only 44 percent of the total school population. Similarly, in School B minorities represented 39 percent of the school enrollment and 53 percent of the programs' populations. In School C, the total school minority enrollment was only 25 percent, while these students represented 45 percent of the enrollment in the compensatory

education programs. Racial/ethnic disproportionalities were apparent when data were examined by grade level. Data indicated that in all except grades two and five, minority students constituted 50 percent or more of Title I and Article 3 program enrollments. The exception in grades two and five can be attributed to low enrollment of minority students in these grades in School C.

All bilingual students in District 1 may be placed in one of the non-English speaking cultural groups. The majority of these students are of Hispanic origin and are part of a significant minority group with some racial and ethnic characteristics distinguishing them from the dominant white group. Federal and/or state bilingual services are provided either in separate classes or by special teachers who take the student out of regular classrooms to provide the instruction. It is, therefore, clear that bilingual compensatory education services result in the target students being regularly separated from other students for a portion or all of the school day. Personnel in District 1 reported that the regulations administered by the Michigan Department of Education are such that resegregation of bilingual students was necessary.

For the most part, services provided under the Emergency School Aid Act in District 1 served all students. In one of the sample schools, however, black students were provided a special physical activity program which was not available to other students. These minority students were taken from their classrooms to the gymnasium for a period on a regular basis. The school staff recognized this as resegregation, and several faculty members expressed concern about it.

Staff Perceptions of Title I and Article 3 Enrollment. Regular classroom teachers were questioned during the interview sessions about the racial/ethnic composition of their classrooms and the racial/ethnic backgrounds of students in their classrooms who participated in Title I and/or Article 3 compensatory programs. Each of 20 regular classroom teachers interviewed had an average of

ten students involved in these education programs. Fifty-five percent of these were minority students. Teachers supported by Title I and Article 3 indicated that of 241 students served, more than half were minority. The reports by staff members are consistent with the 54 percent minority student participation reflected in district-wide data.

When data from the various sources is combined, it is evident that minority students were overrepresented in compensatory education programs.

The instructional services provided for students participating in the Title I and Article 3 programs in these schools were primarily in the areas of reading and mathematics. This instruction usually took place in locations outside the regular classroom, although teachers often indicated that the special instruction was also reinforced within the classrooms. The most common locations outside the classroom, as indicated by teachers and instructional aides in their interviews, were special learning rooms and hallways. This pull-out instruction, according to teachers and instructional aides interviewed, usually required that participating students leave the regular classrooms for up to 45 minutes each day. Most of the teachers and instructional aides stated that students were out of the classroom for periods of from 30 to 45 minutes and that they were likely to be out of the classroom at a time when the other students were receiving instruction in reading and/or mathematics.

The interest in whether or not minority students were overrepresented in compensatory education programs was combined with an interest in whether or not disproportionate numbers of minorities were being pulled out of desegregated classrooms and placed into more segregated learning situations. Teachers and instructional aides largely agreed that the various racial and ethnic groups were equally likely to receive this special instruction outside the regular classroom. This response was interesting because data at the district, school,

grade, and classroom levels clearly indicate that students involved in the compensatory programs were more likely to be minority, and consequently were the same students being pulled out for the special compensatory instruction.

The inconsistency in the staff response is amplified when one examines the racial/ethnic characteristics of the randomly selected students whose educational experiences were unobtrusively observed. Sixty percent of these students were minority, and of those observed who participated in compensatory education programs, 50 percent were minority. The observations also indicated that students leaving their classrooms for compensatory instruction usually joined instructional units composed of a larger percentage of minority students than their regular classrooms.

The students being observed spent from 15 to 90 minutes in compensatory education instruction with a mean pull-out instructional time of 34 minutes. In all except one instance, students received compensatory instruction in a group more racially segregated than their regular classrooms. In most instances, when compared to the racial composition of the regular classroom, the compensatory instruction groups could be described as resegregated, using the 15 percent variance definition.

Teachers and instructional aides were queried as to their perceptions regarding this situation. After being questioned about the racial/ethnic characteristics of students involved in compensatory education programs, the teachers and aides were asked whether or not minorities were overrepresented in the compensatory education programs in their schools. Of the 48 teachers and instructional aides interviewed, less than half felt that minorities were over-represented in compensatory education programs in their schools. About as many of the respondents felt they were not. Some were uncertain. Principals were also divided in their responses; one felt that such overrepresentation existed

in his school, one that it did not, and the third was uncertain. About half of the central administrators felt that minority students were overrepresented in the compensatory education programs in the school district.

Discussion of the above topic often elicited long periods of interviewee silence and, in some instances, very obvious tension. The responses appeared to result more from the respondents' evaluations of the appropriateness of the services for the students than from a consideration of the actual numbers of racial/ethnic minorities participating in the programs. In numerous instances, when the enrollment figures cited by respondents clearly indicated disproportionate minority enrollments, the response concerning overrepresentation was still negative. It appeared that actual figures mattered little in perceptions of overrepresentation. The presence of large numbers of minority children in these programs was not perceived as overrepresentation. In some instances, interviewees asked for clarification of the definition of overrepresentation, and the definition of 15 percent variance was given. Even in the instances in which school record data clearly indicated deviations beyond the 15 percent range, respondents were as likely to deny as they were to affirm the existence of overrepresentation of minority students in the compensatory education programs.

The denial of overrepresentation among teachers and instructional aides was somewhat clarified by those respondents who affirmed minority overrepresentation in compensatory education programs. These interviewees were asked why this situation had occurred. The most common response was that it was due to factors in the family background of minority students such as socioeconomic status, single parent families, poor living conditions, lack of interest in education, high mobility, working parents, and cultural differences among minorities. (See Appendix B.) These family background factors were considered as causally related to low achievement and resultant placement in compensatory education programs.

They were also deemed to be particularly characteristic of minority families.

The second most frequently cited reason for minority overrepresentation in compensatory education programs was related to program guidelines. Many of the interviewees felt that the programs existed for minority students, primarily with a particular type of family background, and these were the students whose needs the programs were designed to meet.

The third most frequently cited response was that minorities need the services more--that these were the students who were not succeeding in school and who required the compensatory services to attain some minimal level of educational success.

The fourth category of responses cited prejudice, racism (personal and institutional), cultural bias, and discrimination as the reasons for minority overrepresentation in compensatory education programs. These respondents felt that due to the operation of racism, system bias, and personal prejudices, minorities were disproportionally assigned to compensatory education programs. Other reasons given for this overrepresentation included the nature of the identification and selection processes used by the programs, the tests administered to determine eligibility, and the fact that the educational system is geared toward providing disproportionate programs for minority children.

In summary, the data from the various sources indicate that the selection and identification procedures used to determine enrollment in compensatory education programs were well understood by staff members and in compliance with federal and state guidelines. Standardized achievement and criterion referenced test scores and teacher judgment were the critiera most frequently cited. The results of the selection procedures, however, are a latent function in that resegregation occurred along racial and/or ethnic lines at the district, school, grade, and classroom levels. This resegregation was further marked by the pulling

out of students from desegregated classrooms for compensatory instruction in more segregated groups. Bilingual instruction was sometimes provided in segregated classrooms and ESAA services were occasionally provided in segregated activities. Staff members were about as likely to confirm this overrepresentation as they were to deny it and those confirming it attributed its existence primarily to factors in the family backgrounds of the minority children selected for and involved in the compensatory education programs under study.

Differentiation

An important aspect of equality of instruction in elementary schools is the extent to which students are differentiated in order to provide different types of programs to meet individual student needs. This research focused on differentiation of learning objectives established for compensatory education students, the various staff expectations for these students, and differentiation of instruction provided to the compensatory education students. Three aspects of the instructional programs were of concern in this research: Who gives the instruction to compensatory education students? What level of instructional materials are used with these children? What curriculum is covered by compensatory education students during the course of the school year? This research alsc sought to determine whether or not the existence of compensatory education programs in the district exacerbated differentiation.

Learning Objectives

Differentiation in the learning objectives for compensatory education students, as compared to those objectives set for noncompensatory education students, was investigated through district documents and interviews with various staff members. Written district documents indicated that the goal for students in the several compensatory education programs was a gain of 16 new District Instructional Guidance Plan objectives in reading and/or mathematics

during the school year. The number of objectives to be achieved by non-compensatory students was not clearly specified in District 1. Some interviewees indicated that all students were expected to gain 16 objectives; others referred to 20 objectives as the goal for noncompensatory education students. This discrepancy was never resolved. It was, however, clear from the interviews that all students were working toward DIGP objectives. Compensatory education students were more likely to be monitored on their success or failure in attaining the objectives due to evaluation requirements in these programs.

District documents reporting attainment of DIGP reading and mathematics objectives by compensatory and noncompensatory education students at each elementary grade level during the 1977-78 school year showed that "compensatory education students show a higher rate of attainment on early objectives in the hierarchy, while noncompensatory education students show a higher rate of attainment on the later objectives" (Selps, 1979). This material indicates that though all students are working toward the same set of learning objectives, compensatory students frequently are working on lower level objectives. This distinction may explain the inconsistencies in the responses noted. Similar treatment would have implied that compensatory and noncompensatory education students had the same number of learning objectives, but, this was not clear from either the interviews or the district documents.

Respondents who indicated that learning objectives were different for compensatory and noncompensatory students were asked to describe the difference. Among teachers and instructional aides responding to the nature of the difference, the response most frequently mentioned was that the grade level of the learning objectives set for compensatory education students was lower than that set for students not involved in a compensatory education program. About half the central office administrators indicated that compensatory education students had objectives at a lower grade level. Principals did not cite differences

on this variable. About one-fourth of the teachers and instructional aides indicated that fewer learning objectives are set for the compensatory education students. About one-third of the interviewees responded that different objectives are set for all students, based on their individual needs.

When considered separately, the various data collected on whether or not differentiation exists in the learning objectives set for compensatory education students are inconclusive. By combining the various pieces of data, however, it appears that the learning objectives set for compensatory education students are frequently at a lower level than those established for noncompensatory education students. The data do not indicate that there are consistent differences in the number of learning objectives established for the two groups of students. The lower level objectives for compensatory students are in accord with the guidelines; and since these students have previously achieved below grade level, many district staff members perceive that it is appropriate to set lower level objectives for them.

There is little question about the difference in objectives for bilingual students. The first priority in these programs is the teaching of English. This is generally supplemented by some appreciation of the students' native cultures. Basic skills and other objectives are a part of the intended outcome of the bilingual programs, but these, temporarily at least, have a somewhat lower priority for the bilingual program students. Most respondents considered 16 reading and 16 math objectives per year the goal for bilingual as well as for Title I and Article 3 students. The objectives specified for bilingual students are often on a lower level than their age-grade would indicate.

The ESAA programs are oriented toward the achievement of "affective" objectives as well as cognitive ones. The former are generally common for all students, although, as noted earlier, in one school only minority students were included in one particular activity. The cognitive objectives focus on

overcoming the disadvantages of minority students, but there is evidence that different objectives are set for minority students in this program.

In summary, it appears that the reading and math objectives set for many Title I and Article 3 students are at a lower grade level than for most non-compensatory students in the same school grade. This may be true also for bilingual students. The number of reading and math objectives for compensatory education students is clearly specified as 16 per year in each area, but the number set for noncompensatory students is not clear. Although the staff in District 1 do not clearly identify differences between compensatory and non-compensatory objectives, there is substantial evidence that objectives for the compensatory education students are often on a lower level and may be fewer in number than for noncompensatory students.

Expectations Held for Students

Determination as to whether expectations held by the staff for compensatory education students differed from those held for noncompensatory education students was addressed by asking interviewees what percent of each category of students they expected to master the objectives held for them. Regular teachers, compensatory and special education teachers,and instructional aides responded to this set of questions.

The data indicate that of the three personnel types, regular classroom teachers had the highest expectations for compensatory education students, while the lowest expectations for these students were held by instructional aides.

The great majority of regular classroom teachers expected that nearly all of their compensatory education students would achieve the objectives set for them. A somewhat smaller proportion of the compensatory special

staff and instructional aides felt that compensatory education students would achieve this level of success.

Regular classroom teachers also were more likely than other personnel to report that their compensatory education students actually achieved the learning objectives set for them. Half of the regular teachers, but only a third of the compensatory education teachers and instructional aides, reported that most of their compensatory education students had achieved the objectives.

About half of the instructional aides expected that compensatory education students would achieve more than half of the objectives held for non-compensatory education students, while only a few expected that these students would attain nearly all of the objectives held for noncompensatory education students.

In summary, it appears that the instructional aides in this sampled had the lowest expectations for compensatory education students. Fewer compensatory education students taught by the aides were achieving the objectives held for them when compared to students taught by regular teachers, compensatory teachers, and other special teachers. Regular teachers had the highest expectations and reported the most students achieving their objectives.

Instruction

Differentiation in the instruction provided to compensatory education students was assessed by examining who provides the instruction for these students, the level of instructional materials used, and the curriculum covered during the course of the school year. Data were collected from the interview sessions to determine if differentiation existed on these variables.

Data from the interviews indicate that special instruction provided to compensatory education students outside the regular classroom is provided slightly more often by instructional aides than by subject matter specialists.

When the special instruction is provided within the classroom, it is most likely to be provided by instructional aides. Data gathered from unobtrusive observations support the interview data, indicating that students pulled out of regular classrooms for compensatory instruction were about equally likely to receive instruction from an aide as from a specialist. In the thirteen pull-outs observed, seven instructional sessions occurred with subject matter specialists while six were with instructional aides.

None of the students observed received their compensatory instruction within the regular classroom. When present in the classroom, instructional aides graded papers, prepared dittos, watered plants and did other record keeping and housekeeping tasks. There was no indication that students not involved in compensatory education programs received any instruction from aides or specialists. In one school, the reading specialist did spend one day per week providing enrichment activities for noncompensatory education students. Regular classroom teachers further indicated that they met often (more than once a week) with the providers of the special instruction to discuss their pupils' progress and instruction. The communication between these personnel types was usually considered informal. Responses from compensatory education staff were similar.

Interviewees were asked how the grade level of the instructional materials used with compensatory education students compared with that of the instructional materials used with noncompensatory education students. Most teachers and instructional aides noted that instructional materials used with compensatory education students were, to some degree, different from those used with noncompensatory education students. There was no difference in the breakdown of responses by personnel type. The majority of each group noted differences in the materials used with the two categories of students.

Those interviewed noted that a primary difference in the use of instructional materials was that compensatory education students were more likely than regular education students to use instructional materials below grade level. These students were also more likely to use special commercial learning materials such as instructional kits, filmstrips, games, and flashcards, and were more likely to use materials developed by teachers.

The final aspect of instruction investigated was differentiation in the curriculum or teaching units covered during the course of the school year by compensatory education students, compared with noncompensatory education students. More than half of the teachers, instructional aides, and principals stated that the curriculum (teaching units) covered was the same for both compensatory and noncompensatory education students. A smaller proportion of the Central Administration concurred in this opinion. Of those who said it was not the same, most respondents noted that compensatory education students were working on a lower curriculum level and were likely to receive extra drill, more reinforcement, and supplemental instruction. Some respondents indicated that although compensatory education students were covering essentially the same curricula, they received less complex, more generalized exposure, with less conceptual depth.

Bilingual instruction was provided by special bilingual staff persons. In some instances this instruction (Vietnamese, Arabic, Spanish, Ojibway, etc.) was provided at a central location. Bilingual instruction was intended primarily to develop proficiency in the English language and as a consequence to improve competency in basic skills. Learning objectives were identified for each child and a Personalized Education Plan was prepared. Like other compensatory education students, bilingual students were more likely to use instructional materials that were below grade level, supplementary teacher-developed materials, and special commercial learning materials. The district

also made use of special Bilingual Resource Centers. In addition to language instruction, students involved in the bilingual programs often received reinforcement in aspects of their basic culture.

Summary of Differentiation

The data regarding differentiation support the following summary comments: (1) Differentiation existed in the learning objectives set for compensatory education students. Students in compensatory education programs generally were working on reading and mathematic objectives at lower grade levels than most students not involved in compensatory education programs. This reflects a belief by district educators that such differentiation is appropriate educational practice and is in harmony with the federal and state regulations. (2) Differentiation existed in expectations for mastery of learning objectives for students involved in compensatory education programs. Those personnel most likely to provide instruction for compensatory education students were aides and specialists, most of whom had lower expectations for these students than did the regular classroom teachers. In addition, perhaps as a function of these lower expectations, instructional aides and specialists involved in compensatory education programs reported fewer compensatory education students actually achieving the learning objectives that were set for them. Regular classroom teachers did not report differences between the expectations held for compensatory education students and those held for noncompensatory education students, although the level of the objectives being taught might vary. (3) Differentiation existed in the grade level of the instructional materials used with compensatory education students. These students were more likely than noncompensatory students to use instructional materials below grade level, special commercially-developed materials, and teacher-developed materials. Differentiation also existed in instructional

personnel. Compensatory education students were more likely to receive instruction from subject matter specialists and instructional aides. No differentiation was noted in the curriculum covered during the school year.

Achievement Outcomes

In 1979 slightly more than 50 percent of Title I students served in the district gained 16 or more DIGP reading objectives, while nearly 70 percent gained 16 or more DIGP mathematics objectives. Almost 20 percent of the students served gained less than ten objectives. District data indicated a substantial increase in the percentage of Title I eligible students achieving 16 or more reading objectives from 1976-77 to 1978-79. Little change was noted in the mathematics achievement for the same time period (See Appendix C).

In 1979, district-wide, 51.6 percent of the Article 3 eligible students mastered 16 or more objectives in reading, while 65.6 percent mastered 16 or more of the mathematics objectives. As in Title I, the number of students achieving 16 or more objectives in Article 3 programs showed an overall increase from 1976 to 1979.

Of students involved in the ESAA Basic Program, 53.9 percent mastered 16 or more reading objectives while 73.6 percent mastered 16 or more mathematics objectives. Forty-six percent of ESAA bilingual students mastered 16 or more DIGP reading and 74.5 percent achieved mastery of 16 or more DIGP mathematic objectives. Forty-seven percent of students involved in ESAA bilingual programs completed 16 or more reading objectives and 68.4 percent achieved this level of objectives in mathematics.

District data indicated that there was "virtually no difference in the performance of minority and majority categorical students" on attainment of DIGP objectives in either reading or mathematics, although female students consistently performed better than male students in both subjects.

Limited data were available to evaluate the extent to which intended outcomes other than basic skills were achieved by compensatory education students. Numerous members of the staff indicated that compensatory education students had improved self-concept, but there were no objective data available to support that conclusion.

Because minority students generally were achieving at lower levels than majority students, District 1 proposed through the ESAA program to improve the minority students' sense of control over their academic environment. During Fall 1978, students in desegregated schools were administered the "Sense of Futility Scale" which measured the students' perception of their possibility of success in the school system. Minority students had significantly higher feelings of futility than majority students, and the ESAA students had a significantly higher sense of futility than non-target students. During the 1978-79 academic year, 50 percent of the target students improved on the "Sense of Futility" measure and 50 percent remained the same or decreased. There was no significant difference between pre- and post-test means on this measure. A sub-group of target students in a special guided interaction program made a significant gain in sense of control in the academic environment.

A comparison of basic skill achievement among the several compensatory education student groups and the noncompensatory education students was not made. The evaluation of compensatory education was not based on whether or not the target students were achieving at equal levels with other students. Rather, the effects of the programs were measured by the gains made or the objectives mastered by the compensatory education students. The 16 math and reading objectives identified for target students are frequently on a lower grade level than for other students. The achievement of all 16 objectives by 100 percent of the compensatory education students each year might result in no reduction in the

inequality. It might even cause an increase in the gap between the compensatory and noncompensatory students. The percentage of students mastering 16 objectives in both reading and math in the several compensatory education groups was considerably less than 100, however. It is, therefore, unlikely that these students were achieving equitable outcomes compared to noncompensatory students unless the latter were achieving at the same low level.

Comparative Basic Skill Achievement data were available, however, for minority and white students for several years for District 1 schools. Since the compensatory education students were disproportionately minority, some indication of the outcomes of these programs may be obtained by a comparison of minority and non-minority achievement. District data for 1978-79 indicated that there was a considerable gap in majority/minority achievement. In 39 of the 41 elementary schools, minority reading achievement as measured by SAT scores was below majority students. This was the case for all 41 schools on mathematics achievement. Data for the three sample schools coincided with district-wide data: In each sample, school majority achievement on the SAT in math and reading was higher than minority achievement. Appendix D shows a comparison of minority/majority achievement longitudinally over a four year period at the three sample schools. In school A, from 1976 to 1979, the average percentile rank for minority students in reading dropped three points while majority students gained six points. In math, during the same period, minority students gained one percentile point while majority students gained six points. School A had numerous compensatory education programs operating. In School B during the same four-year period, both majority and minority students gained three percentile points in reading, while in math, minority students stayed at the same level and majority students lost two percentile points. In school B, Title I and Article 3 programs were operational. School C, which operated only the Article 3 program, showed increases of seven

percentile points for minority students in reading, while majority students lost two percentile points. In math, majority students lost four percentile points while minority students gained three. These data appear to indicate that schools operating with the most compensatory education programs had the least success in closing the achievement gap between majority and minority students.

Although comparable achievement data were not available for the target students and noncompensatory education students, it seems unlikely that the compensatory education programs had produced equality of basic skill achievement in District 1. Even though only 46-75 percent of these students mastered the 16 objectives set for them, it may be that these programs served to enhance the self-concept of students. Comparative data were not available on this intended outcome, however. The data concerned with students' sense of control did not indicate any significant change for ESAA students generally, but a significant improvement in a group receiving a special guided interaction program was noted.

Overall, the outcome data indicated that there was some improvement in the reading achievement of compensatory education students over the years, but that inequalities in outcomes were not materially reduced. The federal and state emphasis on providing identifiably separate services for compensatory education and the belief in great differences in ability among students have tended to result in programs that do not have equitable achievement outcomes as their goal.

General Observations on Compensatory Education

A further general assessment was made of the extent to which the existence of the compensatory education programs under review affected the educational program. Teachers and instructional aides were asked if the instruction they provided would differ if the resources provided by compensatory student programs

did not exist (See Appendix E). The vast majority of the teachers and aides reported that their instruction would differ if they no longer received these resources. All of the principals and most of the central office administrators indicated that instructional programs would differ.

Most of the personnel interviewed felt that the primary difference in the instructional program would be the loss of staff. The personnel most frequently referred to were instructional aides. The loss of aides would result primarily in decreased individualized instruction and instructional time provided to the target students. There was concern that without the instructional aides the regular classroom teacher would have to manage a wider range of academic abilities and have more reading groups and a larger class size. Compensatory education program resource losses would result in fewer supplies and materials, less testing, less reinforcement for slower students, lower expectations for target students, less parental involvement, and less staff inservice training.

Another difference noted was that less time would be spent with noncompensatory education students, if compensatory education programs and resources did not exist. This indicates that some interviewees viewed the existence of compensatory programs as beneficial to the regular education students.

The fact that the data indicated the importance attached to the enhancement of the individualized instruction that comes with the implementation of compensatory education programs supports the idea that these programs exacerbate differences in instruction. Were it not for the resources provided by compensatory programs, there would be fewer or possibly no aides--the personnel found most likely to differentiate expectations set for compensatory education students. There would also be no pull-out, which leads to resegregation of students along racial lines. Finally, there would be less individualization of instruction, which produces differentiation in instructional personnel, in materials, and in learning objectives.

Further data regarding whether or not compensatory education programs exacerbate differentiation can be extrapolated from interview responses regarding the most positive and most negative outcomes of compensatory education programs. The types of responses to this inquiry are reported in Appendices F and G. On the positive side, staff members most frequently indicated that compensatory education programs increase target pupils' reading and mathematics achievement; secondly, that the programs improve students' self-concepts and attitudes; and thirdly, that compensatory education programs provide an opportunity for individualization. The three most frequently cited negative outcomes were that the program guidelines exclude certain children that need assistance; that they stigmatize and label students who are involved; and that the programs increase segregation or cause resegregation along racial lines.

Individualization, stigmatization, segregation or resegregation, and exclusion are all relevant to equality of education. The fact that staff members saw these as potential outcomes of compensatory education programs supports the idea that these programs differentiate among students. Further, data cited earlier regarding the racial/ethnic characteristics of students participating in compensatory education programs clearly indicated the presence of high proportions of minority children. Thus, it is minority children who were most affected by this differentiation.

To summarize, the data indicate that the existence of compensatory education programs produced some resegregation along racial/ethnic lines and also resulted in differentiation among students in learning objectives established, expectations held, and instruction provided. There is no evidence that achievement differences were significantly reduced. These findings do not indicate that District 1 failed to operate compensatory education programs according to federal and state guidelines. Rather the findings indicate federal, state, and local policies have not functioned in a manner to achieve educational equity in the district.

Chapter IV: DISTRICT TWO CASE STUDY*

Introduction

In 1968, a group of District 2 community members, including both blacks and whites, petitioned the local school board to adopt a plan of redistricting to integrate the district's schools.

As a result of this petition, the board instructed the school district's central administration to develop a plan for the integration of District 2. Two committees were appointed by the board to achieve this purpose. A series of school board changes, a State Civil Rights Commission Report, and various court actions and appeals followed the initial desegregation action. By 1975, the U.S. Supreme Court had refused to hear the appeal and desegregation was implemented.

District 2 is in a midwestern city. In 1978-79 there were 23 elementary schools, five junior high schools, and two high schools. Approximately 30 percent of the nearly 15,000 students were black.

An examination of the regular classroom enrollments at the elementary school level in District 2 did not provide evidence of classroom resegregation within schools. There may, however, have been racially unbalanced groupings within classrooms. As will be noted in the sections on compensatory and special education programs, some of which were carried on in regular classrooms, these groups were disproportionately minority.

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*Much of the data and analysis for this case study is adapted from a review of the results of a school desegregation court order.

At the secondary school level, within non-tracked or regular courses, no evidence of section segregation was found.

All of the compensatory education programs examined in this study had been implemented in District 2. More than 2500 students in the 23 elementary schools were served by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, or by Article 3 of the Michigan School Aid Act, or both, during the 1979-80 school year. During the first two years of desegregation, the district received funding through the Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP). In subsequent years, aid was received through the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA). The primary emphasis in these programs was at the secondary level to complement the concentration of Title I funds at the elementary level. The Title VII and Section 41A Bilingual Programs had provided services for approximately 250 non-English native language students at the time of the study (1979).

Methodology

Information for this study was gathered by interviewing a random sample of District 2 elementary and secondary classroom, compensatory education, and special education teachers. One regular classroom teacher was selected at random within each grade at each of seven elementary schools in the sample. These schools were randomly selected from all the district elementary schools, after a stratification of the schools was made on the basis of school level (lower elementary, upper elementary) and black population (less than or equal to the mean, greater than the mean). Teachers in the following subjects were randomly selected from two junior high schools: Art, industrial arts, reading, English, foreign language, math, science, social studies, and music. As in the case of the elementary schools, these junior high schools were randomly selected from a stratification based on the black population in the schools. Teachers were randomly selected in both the high schools from the following subjects: Home economics, industrial arts, art, business education, math, science, health and safety, social studies, English,

foreign language, and music. A total of 28 elementary school, 23 junior high school, and 29 high school classroom teachers were interviewed. One compensatory education teacher was interviewed at each of the seven elementary and five junior high schools. In seven elementary and eleven junior high schools, special education teachers of emotionally impaired, emotionally and mentally impaired, and learning disabled students were also interviewed.

Overall, 13 percent of the district's elementary school classroom teachers, 14 percent of the junior high school classroom teachers, 20 percent of the senior high school classroom teachers, 27 percent of the compensatory education teachers, and 39 percent of the EI, EMI, and LD teachers were interviewed for the study.

The role that counselors and principals played in the academic placement process and the degree to which there were racial differences in the counseling process were assessed by interviewing seven elementary school principals and four secondary principals. All of the eleven counselors at the secondary level were interviewed. In an effort to determine the degree to which sixth grade teachers used the stated District Placement Criteria, nineteen sixth grade teachers were interviewed after being randomly selected from the total population of sixth grade teachers in the district.

The methods used in District 2 differed from those used in District 1 in the following ways: 1) teachers interviewed in District 2 included compensatory, special education, and regular classroom teachers in both elementary and secondary schools; 2) secondary counselors and sixth grade teachers in District 2 were interviewed, but teacher aides were not; and 3) interviews with randomly selected District 2 teachers were voluntary and no stipends were offered for assisting in the study. It should be noted that in contrast to District 1, data available in District 2 permitted us to examine special education and secondary school course enrollments.

Findings

Resegregation

Resegregation in District 2 was determined on the same basis as in District 1. Minority students were considered to be underrepresented if minority enrollment in a program or course was 15 percent below the percentage of minorities enrolled in the elementary school or appropriate grade level in the secondary schools. Minorities were considered overrepresented if their enrollment was 15 percent above the percentage of minorities enrolled in the elementary school or appropriate grade level in the secondary schools. The number of white, black, and ethnic minority students in Title I, Article 3, and bilingual programs in the elementary schools and the course enrollments in secondary schools were examined to determine the extent to which resegregation had occurred in these schools.

Title I and Article 3

Analysis of the enrollment data revealed that black students were disproportionately represented in Title I and Article 3 programs for all of the years since desegregation. For example, in 1976-77, 43 percent of the black students enrolled in elementary schools were in the Title I program, as compared with 18 percent of the district's white elementary students. These figures were 48 percent and 22 percent, respectively, for 1977-78. This racial disproportionality persisted during the 1979-80 school year as noted in Table 2.

Only 42 to 52 percent of the students in these compensatory education programs were white, while more than 60 percent of the elementary students were white. Although overrepresentation of minority students in Title I and Article 3 programs was not found in all elementary schools, it was found in more than half. For example, in 1977-78, the percent of black students in Title I exceeded the percent

of black students in the building by more than 15 percent in 11 of the 18 buildings which had Title I programs.

Table 2

Racial Composition of District 2 Students in
Title I and Article 3 Programs 1979-80
Compensatory Program Enrollment

Race of Students	Title I Only	Article 3 Only	Both
Black	205	763	305
White	199	746	346
Other	21	42	15

Students in Title I and Article 3 programs were generally pulled out of the regular classrooms during various periods of the school day to receive instruction by a special teacher of teacher aide. All but one of the seven students observed for a full school day were removed from the classroom either singly or in small groups from one to five times during the day. The groups were usually composed of larger proportions of minorities than found in the regular classroom and frequently could be identified as black and other minority.

The interviews with elementary teachers confirmed the pull-out practice. Only a few of the teachers reported that compensatory education occurred in the regular classrooms. Over half reported that students were sent out, and about one third reported both in-classroom and pull-out instruction.

The tendency to resegregate the Title I and Article 3 students through the pull-out process is not due to any overt intent to segregate minority students.

Two reasons for the practice are apparent: First, federal and state regulations require that services be provided only to eligible students. This can be most readily assured by removing the target students from the regular classroom for the special instruction. Second, there exists a widely-held belief that individualized instruction designed to meet special needs is the best way to instruct disadvantaged students. Regardless of the reasons, it is clear that the Title I and Article 3 students are to some extent set apart and resegregated in most District 2 schools.

Bilingual Program

District 2's bilingual program had been primarily a pull-out tutorial program serving children with limited English speaking ability in grades K-12. In the 1979-80 school year, at the request of the State Department of Education, three self-contained bilingual classrooms were set-up in one elementary school for first, second, and third grade Hispanic students. The Court amended its desegregation order to permit the transportation of students to self-contained classrooms in a designated school if this did not make the school disproportionately minority and if the classes were not exclusively minority. These classes composed of about 40 percent monolingual English speaking and 60 percent students with other than English as a native language. The Hispanic students were bused to these three classrooms from other District 2 elementary schools. Fourth through sixth grade Hispanic students and first through third grade Arabic students were bused to two other elementary schools with resource centers where students received from one to two hours of instruction daily. Several classes in English as a second language were provided for bilingual students in the high schools. Other Spanish, Arabic, Vietnamese, and Persian students were provided 30-60 minutes tutorial instruction three to five times per week by bilingual teachers or aides.

The goals of the bilingual program, as reported in the interviews were (1) to provide a supportive, comprehensive educational environment for students who speak English as a second language, (2) to improve the students' academic achievement and English communication skills, (3) to enhance the self-image of the bilingual student, and (4) to instill in all children a respect for the diverse cultures of society.

The four language groups identified by the district for participation in the 1978-79 bilingual program were Spanish, Persian, Vietnamese, and Arabic. Of the 251 students in the 1978-79 program, 47 percent were Spanish speaking students in grades K-6. In K-12, Arabic language students represented 16 percent of the bilingual students; Vietnamese represented 11 percent; and Persian, 10 percent. Overall, 62 percent of the students in the bilingual program, grades K-12, were Spanish speaking, and 73 percent of all Spanish-surname students in the district were in the program. Many of these students were also served in the special programs for migrants.

Self-contained classrooms, transportation to resource centers, pull-out tutorials, and English-as-a-second-language classes were all identified as minority programs. They all, therefore, represented a measure of resegregation within or between schools. Staff of the school district expressed concern about the resegregation, but many parents urge these types of programs and the program guidelines essentially requires it.

Special Education Programs

Also examined were differences in the proportions of races enrolled in the Emotionally and Mentally Impaired (EMI), Emotionally Impaired (EI), and Learning Disabled (LD) programs in the district's schools.

The percentages of students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds within separate educational levels (early elementary, later elementary, junior

high, senior high) of the EMI, EI, and LD programs for the years 1970-71 through 1978-79 are shown in Appendix H. These data are based on the total student enrollments within a specific program. The enrollments are expressed in terms of the percentages of the district's students for each racial or ethnic group in a given program. The figures do not demonstrate consistent patterns of disproportionate minority enrollments, but blacks are overrepresented in some programs for some years.

Secondary Course Enrollments. In addition to the patterns of resegregation resulting from compensatory education and special education programs, an examination was made of the extent to which secondary school courses were segregated. Although not directly related to compensatory education programs, separate courses and programs presumably could be reduced or eliminated at the secondary level if compensatory education programs achieved their goal of overcoming disadvantages at the elementary level.

At the junior high school level, it was found that (1) nearly all (10 out of 11) of the courses were non-representative in black enrollments for 1978-79; (2) the number of courses which had representative black enrollments decreased from 1975-76 to 1978-79; and (3) black enrollments were higher in the lower-level non-college-bound courses (e.g., reading and individual and regular math).

The same findings were evident at the senior high school level. The only difference between the junior and senior high schools was that at the senior high school level, the extent of course segregation had increased. At the senior high school level, 62 percent of the science courses at one high school and 50 percent of the science courses at the other school were not representative. (See Table 3.)

The pattern of racially disproportionate representation was consistent. Black students were never overrepresented in the accelerated classes nor in

college-bound English, select math, and advanced biology courses. While the district had stated that students freely made their own choices of classes in which they enrolled, in reality, little free choice was involved. Once a student was placed in a reading class, or in a lower-track math class, his "free choices" became limited not only at the time the decision was made, but for subsequent school years as well.

Table 3

Percentage of Courses Offered Which Are Not Representative in Black Enrollment at District 2 High Schools 1975-76 and 1978-79

	School 1		School 2	
	1975-76	1978-79	1975-76	1978-79
English	36%	41%	20%	40%
Reading	100%	100%	100%	50%
Mathematics	42%	84%	58%	46%
Foreign Language	85%	46%	62%	71%
Science	78%	62%	67%	50%
Social Studies	0%	31%	20%	21%
Business Education	22%	32%	[illegible]	15%
Music	60%	73%	[illegible]	17%
Health & Safety	0%	0%	0%	0%
Art	14%	29%	22%	38%
Industrial Arts	42%	40%	19%	48%
Home Economics	60%	67%	36%	56%
Media	0%	50%	100%	67%

The principal, counselor and sixth grade teacher interviews suggest that placement in classes was a function of prior student achievement in a subject area. Most of the respondents specified student "ability" as a factor underlying class assignment. If achievement is an index of ability and placement is a function of ability, then it is not surprising that the enrollment in lower level junior high school mathematics and reading classes was disproportionately black, since many black students entered junior high school with poor achievement in reading and mathematics skills. This in turn, indicates that the compensatory education programs had not overcome the educational disadvantages of the black students in the elementary schools studied. The patterns of resegregation within the secondary schools were even greater than those in the elementary schools.

Differentiation

Goals - Objectives. Racial disproportionality in certain courses and programs raises the issue of whether regular classroom teachers, compensatory education teachers, and special education teachers sought to provide equal educational outcomes for all students.

Based on the interviews conducted with a random sample of district teachers, it appears that at least half of the regular classroom elementary school teachers had different goals and objectives for different students. While they indicated that their goals varied as a function of students' needs, typically this referred to student performance or ability. Within a regular elementary school classroom, this was the basis for grouping, with racial differences between groups being reported by about half of the sampled teachers. Similar goals and objectives for different students were reported by most of the sampled regular classroom secondary school teachers, but, as we have seen, a disproportionate enrollment pattern distinguished many classes.

About half of the elementary school staff (regular and compensatory education teachers) reported having individualized goals for compensatory education students.

Most of the regular classroom teachers with mainstreamed special education students reported having the same goals and objectives for them as for their other students. Long-term goals that special education teachers had for their students were reported by almost half of the teachers to differ from the goals for students not in a special education program. In addition, almost all of the special education teachers had individualized student goals. Since enrollments in certain courses, as well as in compensatory and special education programs, were found to be disproportionately black, the results of these interviews suggest that many black students in the district may have been receiving instruction based on goals and objectives which were different from those for white students. These differences in goals and objectives may account for the failure for certain courses and programs to result, as reported, in equitable student outcomes.

Goals and Objectives for Compensatory Education Students

The sample of regular classroom teachers were asked about the goals and objectives they held for compensatory education students. About half of the elementary school teachers said they had the same objectives for their compensatory education students as for other students. Differing abilities, skills, and motor development were cited as reasons by those who had different objectives. On the junior high school level, over three-fourths of the responding teachers said they had the same objectives. When the objectives differed, they were said to differ due to the level of textbook used.

The day-to-day goals and objectives for the students receiving compensatory education were said to be the same as the day-to-day objectives for the regular students by more than half the elementary school and junior high school teachers interviewed. The year-end goals and objectives were also said to be the same by

most of the elementary teachers and many of the junior high school teachers. When the year-end goals differed, it was on the basis of criteria for mastery, materials used, and assignments made.

The sample of elementary and junior high school compensatory education teachers cited one or more of the following reasons for the placement of students in compensatory programs: Teacher recommendations, MAT scores, or being at least one grade level below the acceptable level. All of the respondents reported that there were no racial differences in the application of the placement criteria. Eighty-nine percent of the respondents reported that compensatory education was carried on both in and out of the regular classroom.

About half of the teachers interviewed, indicated that the district provided specific objectives for compensatory education students. Most of the teachers who said there were specific district objectives indicated that those objectives were the same for both compensatory education and noncompensatory education students. In addition, most of the interviewed teachers indicated that the objectives taught compensatory education students were the same as the district's goals and objectives for these students and also indicated that the long-term goals for these students were the same as for regular students. However, most of the teachers indicated that the objectives for each compensatory education students varied from student to student. Individual needs of the students, along with differing ability levels, were the major reasons given for having different goals. Most of the respondents, however, reported no identifiable groups of students for which there were different objectives.

As reasons for a student to be removed from the program, most respondents cited passing the required academic tests and being not less than a year below grade level. All of the teachers said that the same criteria were applied to all students, regardless of race. The length of time students were in compensatory education was said to vary from four weeks to three years, but none of the teachers

indicated that there were any racial differences in the average length of time spent in the compensatory education program.

The objectives set for the compensatory education programs were identified in the plans and proposals prepared for the various programs. District 2 objectives were generally that students gain one month's academic growth for each month in school. In the ESAA project objectives for 1978-79, for example, Objective I stated that "80% of the 2,417 minority students who are below national norms will reflect one month's academic growth in reading for each month in school." The objectives for other subjects and other programs were similar. The goals for these programs were, therefore, that 80 percent of the target students would not fall further behind the norm.

It should be noted that the professional staff in this district believed that 80 percent of students achieving a year's growth was appropriate for compensatory education programs and the level of objectives recommended in federal and state guidelines. The achievement of these objectives would not result in a decrease in the inequity between the target students and others. Rather, the inequities might increase for 20 percent of the students.

Expectations. It is almost a maxim in educational literature that teachers' expectations may influence student achievement. This section addressed the issue of the degree to which teacher expectations of student performances in their classes are said to differ as a function of student race. The same methodology and sample of teachers described in the previous section are also applicable here. Regular classroom, compensatory education, and special education teachers were asked what percentages of regular, compensatory education, and special education students they expected to master the goals and objectives set for them, what proportion of regular, compensatory education, and special education students actually mastered the objectives, and which students were least likely to master them.

About three out of four of the regular classroom elementary and secondary teachers expected 80 percent or more of the students in their classes to master their goals and objectives, but somewhat smaller proportions reported that 80 percent or more of their students actually mastered those goals and objectives. The elementary teachers felt that those students least likely to master the goals and objectives were those who had problems in their family, had low attention spans, were immature, or had poor language skills. Racial differences in these kinds of students were reported by many of the elementary teachers. Junior high school teachers felt that students least likely to master goals and objectives were those who were absent, had low reading scores, or had poor motivation. Other reasons included being unprepared for the course and not having parental support. Few of the junior high teachers reported any racial differences in the likelihood of goal mastery, but those who did,indicated that blacks were less likely to master goals than other students. High school students least likely to master the goals and objectives included absent students, poor readers, and those with poor attitudes. Blacks were reported as least likely to master objectives by a minority of the high school teachers.

The regular classroom teachers were asked to estimate what percent of their compensatory education students mastered the goals and objectives they had for other students in the class. The most typical estimates among the elementary teachers were in the one half to three fourths range. Junior high school teachers estimated that smaller proportions of their compensatory education students mastered the objectives set for noncompensatory students. The compensatory education teachers expected a higher proportion of their students to master the objectives than did the regular classroom teachers. None of the compensatory education teachers reported any racial differences in their expectations, and most of the elementary compensatory education teachers said they expected between one and two

years' growth for students in their programs.

Home problems and attendance problems were cited most often by the elementary teachers as reasons for not achieving a year's growth. Attendance and discipline problems were the reasons given by the junior high teachers. Most elementary teachers reported that students of different racial or ethnic groups were equally likely not to achieve a year's growth.

Although most of the teachers interviewed indicated that they expected both compensatory education students and other students to master about the same percent of the objectives held for them, it is likely that the level of the objectives set was somewhat different and lower for compensatory education students. Most teachers felt that compensatory students should be expected to master the same knowledge and skills as noncompensatory students, but most also reported that a much smaller proportion of the former learned these objectives.

All but one of the central administration personnel interviewed reported that compensatory education students were expected to learn less and on a lower grade level than noncompensatory education students. The one administrator thought this was true for about one third of the compensatory education students, but that two thirds were expected to learn the same as others. All reported that the curriculum covered by compensatory students was different from that of other students and that instructional materials used were more likely to be below grade level.

The reported level of expectations held for compensatory education students by most teachers interviewed was more likely to be similar to the level of expectations for other students than different. However the expectations reflected in the objectives set in the plans and proposals prepared for these programs appeared to be lower than the expectations held for non-target students.

The difference in objectives and expectations held for compensatory education students was associated with differential instruction and materials. In accord

with the belief that students from poor families are less likely to learn well, many students, disproportionately minorities, were often instructed at lower levels than others. This was frequently true for Title I, Article 3 and bilingual students. Evidence of this was the reading level of the instructional materials. It was most dramatically demonstrated at the seventh grade level when some students were placed in reading courses and others in English. This differentiation of instruction was evident throughout the schools.

Outcomes

The most appropriate indicator of the extent to which compensatory education programs serve to reduce inequities in education is the outcomes resulting from the programs for targeted students compared to outcomes for non-targeted students. Little data were available in District 2 on which to base a comparison. Data on the degree to which compensatory education students achieved a normal year's growth, and the comparison of minority and non-minority student achievement provided partial answers to the question.

Title I Achievement

To some extent, the achievement of Title I students reflected the results of Article 3 programs because the two programs overlapped. Assuming that non-targeted students achieved a year's growth in a year on the average, the degree to which these compensatory programs resulted in reducing the inequities in outcomes for Title I students was reflected in the grade equivalent unit gains in reading and math for Title I students.

Data which indicate the number of students within each school gaining less than 1.0 grade year, 1.0 to 1.5 grade years, and 1.6 or more grade years are presented in Appendix I. The percentages of students in each program each year within each category of grade-equivalent unit gains is shown.

As can be seen in Table 4, at least 50 percent of the Title I students in the reading 2-3-4, reading 4-5-6, and mathematics 4-5-6 programs in 1976-77 and 1977-78 gained less than 1.0 year. Since at least 43 percent of the elementary school black students were enrolled in a compensatory education Title I program during this period, this suggests that many of the black students may have been continuing to fall behind in reading and mathematics, even though they were presumably receiving remediation. The data do not contain a racial breakdown of grade equivalent gain units, so this inference has to be made on the basis of overall student achievement.

Similar data for the students served by the Title I migrant program indicate that less than 50 percent were achieving at the normal levels.

Minority-Majority Achievement

Although a comparison of the achievement of minority students to that of non-minority students does not reflect the outcomes of compensatory education programs, it does give some evidence of the extent to which equity in outcomes were being achieved. The comparative Metropolitan Achievement Test data shown in Appendix J indicate relative achievement of various groups over several areas for several years. These results may be affected by Title I, Article 3, bilingual, Migrant ESAA, and a variety of reading improvement programs over several years.

Inspection of the graphs in Figures 1-12 of Appendix J leads to two very clear conclusions:

1. Minority and non-minority students on the average are close together in reading and math as measured by the M.A.T. at the second grade, and both groups are at or above grade level.

2. The differences between minority and non-minority achievement increase in social studies and science as well as reading and math as the students move through the second to ninth grades.

Since all the compensatory programs served a disproportionate number of minority students, the minority achievement resulted, in part, from these programs.

Table 4

Percentages of Students Achieving Grade Equivalent Unit Gains in Title I Programs
1976-77, 1977-78

Program	1976-77			1977-78		
	Less than 1.0 year	1.0 to 1.5 yrs. or more	1.6 years or more	Less than 1.0 year	1.0 to 1.5 yrs. or more	1.6 years or more
Reading Grades 2-3-4	77	19	4	78	17	5
Reading Grades 4-5-6	54	24	22	50	30	20
Mathematics Grades 2-3-4	43	48	9	47	38	15
Mathematics Grades 4-5-6	50	31	19	54	26	20

Source: ESEA Title I Evaluation Reports for the School Years 1976-77 and 1977-78

Certainly these achievement test data provide no evidence that the various compensatory programs had overcome minority disadvantages. Rather, if they had any impact on minority achievement, they served to increase the relative disadvantage compared to non-minority students.

Other Outcomes

Little data were available to determine the possible effect of compensatory education programs--Title I, Article 3, bilingual and ESAA--on other intended outcomes. The ESAA plans mentioned reduction in minority suspension and reduction in drop outs as intended outcomes of that program. Although there was some change from year to year, there was no consistent trend in either of these outcome indicators.

The enhancement of student self-concept was frequently mentioned by staff members as a desired outcome of the various programs, but there were no data on which to determine if this had occurred.

In general, there was no available evidence that the compensatory education programs had reduced the inequitable outcomes of education in District 2. Some respondents suggested during the interviews that the achievement outcomes would have been much lower among target students if the programs had not been available. This is possible, but no evidence was available to support this contention. The evidence available suggests rather that the programs may have increased the inequities.

Summary

Using three criteria--resegregation, differentiation, and outcomes--to determine the extent to which compensatory education programs--Title I, Article 3, bilingual and ESAA--had provided equity in education in District 2, it may be concluded that these programs had not achieved this intended purpose.

Resegregation

There was no evidence of within school or classroom segregation in the elementary schools or required courses at the secondary level. There was evidence, however, of resegregation in Title I, Article 3, and bilingual programs. This was usually through the regular pull-out of students within the school for varying periods of time, but in 1979-80 some bilingual students were being transported to separate self-contained classrooms and resource centers in other buildings.

Although secondary course enrollments were not directly determined by compensatory education programs, the disproportionate enrollments in 7th grade reading or English and math classes, as well as in many other courses, were evidence that compensatory education in elementary school had not produced equitable enrollments at secondary levels. The disproportionate enrollments in many secondary school courses were not the result of overtly racial placement. Minority students were guided in disproportionately large numbers into lower level English, math, and other courses. These assignments were based on assessments of past performance and ability as well as on the teachers' and counselors' judgment of appropriate placement.

Ability grouping, resulting in racially identifiable groups, occurred within at least half the elementary classrooms. This is to a limited extent a resegregation process.

Federal and state guidelines and local school practices based on the presumed differences in ability and prior student performance resulted in very significant patterns of resegregation within the District 2 schools.

Differentiation

Differentiation in objectives set for students, expectations held for them, and instruction provided was evident throughout the District 2 schools.

Minority students were more likely than majority white students to have lower objectives set for them, lower expectations held for them, and lower-level instruction provided. The compensatory education programs examined had not overcome or reduced the differentiation at any level.

Although it is not possible to attribute the differentiation process solely to the compensatory education programs, it is likely that [illegible] contributed to it. The requirement that only eligible students be served and the emphasis on planning individualized programs for compensatory education students supported the practice of differentiation among students. This is buttressed by the widely held belief that there are great differences in ability to learn and that minorities and whites from poor families are likely to have less ability. The belief that differentiated or individualized educational programs are the best way to instruct different students was common in District 2. The combination of beliefs and compensatory education guidelines resulted in extensive differentiation in the education of District 2 students. Minority students were most likely to receive the lower level programs.

Outcomes

If the resegregation and differential educational programming resulted in equal educational outcomes for disadvantaged students, the educational system might be justified in those practices. This was not the case in District 2. There was no evidence that the various compensatory education programs had significantly reduced the inequities in achievement or other educational outcomes. Although some staff members maintained that the achievement gap would be still greater without the programs, evidence on which to base this conclusion was not available. The achievement data available indicated that half or more of the Title I students fell further below the norms each

year rather than catching up. Comparison of the minority and non-minority students indicated that the inequalities in reading, math, social studies and science achievement increased as the students moved through the schools.

There were no significant changes in suspension or drop-out rates after desegregation and with the availability of ESEA, Article 3, and ESAA programs.

Although District 2 balanced the enrollment in its schools and in the elementary and required course secondary classrooms, equitable education did not occur within the schools. The compensatory education programs intended to assist in achieving this goal did not succeed. The regulations guiding these programs and the instructional practices implemented in them tended to encourage within-school resegregation and differential objectives, expectations, and instruction. In short, the compensatory education programs did not overcome the inequities in educational outcomes.

Chapter V: SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND SUGGESTIONS

In the previous chapters, an examination was made of the extent to which compensatory education programs promoted equality of educational opportunity in two desegregated school systems. No attempt was made to identify these as representative school districts, and the examination of each was a case study in itself. This summary of the findings in the two districts should in no way be considered generalizable to other desegregated school districts.

Resegregation

There was no evidence that either of the two school districts had overtly resegregated within schools on the basis of race. It is equally clear, however, that the compensatory education programs which we have examined functioned in each of the school districts to resegregate the poor and minority students in several ways. The most obvious of these was the practice of "pulling-out" students for Title I, Article 3, bilingual and, in some cases, ESAA programs. Eligible students were specifically identified and regularly taken out of the regular classrooms for instruction or other activities. These students were generally disproportionately black and/or members of ethnic minority groups. The special reading and math instruction for Title I and Article 3 students sometimes occurred in school corridors or in laboratory rooms closely identified with the facilities for educable mentally retarded students. In District 2 some bilingual instruction for elementary students occurred in separate buildings to which students were bused. In at least one school studied in District 1 black students were removed from the classrooms for special gymnasium activities under the Emergency School Aid Act program. These latter activities identified and resegregated the minority students for the activities provided by the

compensatory education programs. To the extent that poor and minority students are identified for compensatory services separate from the noncompensatory students and such services are perceived as inferior, such resegregation is potentially a denial of equal protection of the laws.

The Title I, Article 3, and bilingual programs all are intended to overcome the disadvantages of the poor and minority students so that they can function in the educational system on an equitable basis with other students. One criterion of the effectiveness of these programs in achieving this aim could be the extent to which the students who have "benefited" from the programs are indistinguishable from others in later school years. Although we have not provided detailed data, the evidence obtained in the school districts indicated that the elementary school compensatory programs did not overcome academic disadvantages sufficiently to prevent differential programs and resegregation within schools at the secondary school level. Secondary school students were not officially tracked in either school system, but minority students were disproportionately found in courses and programs that were not designed for college preparation. In District 2, the decisions made at the end of the sixth grade regarding students' programs at the seventh grade level resulted in a disproportionate number of poor and minority students in the lower level mathematics and English courses. This subsequently led to a small proportion of minority students in advanced level mathematics, science, and English courses at the high school level. It would appear, therefore, that the compensatory education programs did not guarantee equitable education for eligible students in these school systems. Resegregation at the secondary level was clearly observable in the type of course populated by racial and ethnic minority students compared to the white majority students.

Pull-out and other patterns of resegregation in the elementary schools generally were due to three factors, according to the staffs in the two districts. The first reason given for the need to provide separate instructional programs was that federal and state regulations encourage the practice. The easiest way for school staffs to provide federal and state agencies with evidence that the allocated resources go only to the target population is to isolate that population from the noncompensatory population. Although the intended or manifest purposes of Title I, Article 3, and bilingual programs are to overcome the disadvantages of target populations and enhance the possibility of an equitable education for all, a latent or unintended function of these programs is to resegregate the target students at least part of the time during the school day.

Differentiation

The second criterion used to examine the effect of several federal and state educational programs and policies on desegregation goals was the degree of differentiation in objectives, expectations, and instructional programs provided target students in comparison to non-target students in the two school districts. Again, there was no evidence that differentiated programs were provided overtly on the basis of race. Programs were differentiated, however, for ethnic minorities whose language background was different from English. In accord with what were perceived as appropriate bilingual educational programs, minorities identified by a different language and cultural origin were systematically provided differential instruction in English and, to some extent, in their native language and culture.

Although the Title I and Article 3 compensatory education programs did not overtly differentiate among blacks, whites, and other minorities, the eligible and target populations were clearly disproportionately black and ethnic

minority students. The extent to which target students in these programs were provided differential education could be perceived as being appropriate for minority students.

Generally speaking, the majority of regular classroom teachers and some special compensatory education teachers identified the objectives of the basic skills instruction for compensatory education students as being the same as the objectives for noncompensatory education students. The data available, however, suggest that the number of basic skill objectives and the perceived grade level of these objectives were frequently lower for compensatory education students than for other students. In District 1 the number of reading and math objectives set for Title I and Article 3 students was clearly identified as 16 for each year. The number of reading and math objectives set for each year for the noncompensatory students was poorly defined and quite differently defined by different respondents in the system. The total number of objectives set for reading and math for grades K-6, however, would clearly require that an average of 20 or more objectives be mastered each year. The mastery of 16 objectives per year by the compensatory education students would not result in mastery of the total number of basic skill objectives identified for the K-6 years.

The specific objectives for basic skills were not clearly identified in District 2 except by the instructional materials used. The specified goal of the compensatory education programs was year's growth for each of the students. The preponderance of evidence, however, indicated that the target students did not all achieve a year's growth, and the generally accepted objectives seemed to be decidedly less than a year's growth for the target students. Furthermore, in both districts the objectives for the compensatory education students may have been at a significantly lower grade level than those generally held for students at a given age.

The purpose of the bilingual programs was to improve the English language competence of students with other native languages and to enhance appreciation of their native cultures. This latter objective was not held for the non-bilingual students. The basic skill objectives stated for bilingual students were similar to those for other compensatory education students.

The Emergency School Aid Act programs were varied in the several schools in District 1. Generally, they focused on secondary level students in District 2. The District 1 goals were largely more affective than cognitive in nature. These were not generally differentiated among the racial groups. In one school studied in District 1, however, an ESAA program was provided for blacks only. In District 2, the ESAA program was designed to provide human relations services in secondary schools and to improve instruction through instructional specialists consulting with regular classroom teachers. In District 2, there was no evidence of differentiation between the objectives for minority and non-minority students.

This study also sought to determine to what extent the staffs of the two school districts held differential expectations for minority and non-minority students through the operation of the compensatory education programs. This was a very sensitive issue among the districts' staffs. There was apparently some conflict in the minds of the school personnel concerning the differential expectations held for compensatory education students. It is clear, however, that many teachers, perhaps the majority of teachers, in these districts expected less learning from the students in Title I, Article 3, and bilingual programs. Many teachers identified students from disadvantaged home backgrounds as less able to learn, and therefore considered it inappropriate, perhaps even unkind, to expect children from so-called disadvantaged families to achieve at normal levels. Although the degree to which these differential expectations actually resulted in differential programs was not investigated, it seems likely

that the differences in instructional materials and instructional levels resulted, at least in part, from the staff not expecting the students to learn at the level of other students.

Associated with differential objectives and sometimes differential expectations was a common practice of providing target students with different instructional materials. In District 1, instructional materials were adapted to the objectives identified for the compensatory education students. They were, in many instances, different from those used for the noncompensatory education students. In District 2, the reading instruction for compensatory education students was commonly in lower level books than for the regular students in a given grade. Since elementary Title I, Article 3, and bilingual programs were essentially pull-out programs taught by teacher aides or instructional specialists, supplementary and different instructional materials were more frequently used by these teachers than by the regular classroom teachers. The materials used for bilingual students were significantly different from those used for the non-bilingual ones. There is little evidence, however, that there was any differentiation in the instructional materials or other services as a result of the ESAA programs in District 2. The variation in ESAA programs from school to school in District 1 makes it difficult to generalize about that district.

There is considerable evidence that compensatory education programs have stimulated school districts to clearly specify objectives for target students in order to evaluate the programs. Such a clarification has not been made, however, for noncompensatory education students. The former students are evaluated by the degree to which they have achieved the objectives identified for them, but they are not compared to the non-target students. In District 1, for example, it is impossible to determine whether noncompensatory education students mastered more of the specified objectives than did the compensatory

education students. In District 2 it may be presumed that the objective was for noncompensatory education students to achieve a year's growth as measured by standard norm referenced tests, but there is no evidence that students not involved in Title I, Article 3, or bilingual programs achieved this level.

It was much more difficult to obtain definitive evidence concerning the differentiation of objectives, expectations, and instructional programs for target students (and thus racial or ethnic minority students) than it was to determine the degree to which resegregation occurred. Staffs of the two school districts, both teachers and central administrators, were generally sensitive about the identification of differential programs, except for the bilingual programs which clearly called for differential objectives and instruction. Some staff certainly did not set different objectives, hold different expectations, or provide different instructional programs for the targeted students. Others--and this was more commonly true of the teacher aides and specialists who worked more exclusively with the compensatory education students--held different objectives and different expectations for their students and provided different instructional programs. These differences were generally explained and justified by the same reasoning used to justify the resegregation which has occurred in the districts. The guidelines for bilingual, Title I, and Article 3 programs clearly support supplying supplementary instructional services which presumably are to be different from the regular classroom instruction. These differences in objectives and instructional programs are also justified by the belief that the students from disadvantaged backgrounds have different abilities and different needs. Given this belief, regular instructional programs to achieve the standard level objectives and expectations are inappropriate for the target students. Differential objectives and programs are therefore necessary and appropriate for students served by the various compensatory programs. Many

members of the staff would insist that it was not only appropriate, but absolutely necessary, to establish different objectives for these students and provide different instructional programs for them. They were perceived as not able to achieve at the same levels or master the same areas of knowledge as other students. This belief system provides a foundation on which to justify differential education for racial and ethnic minorities as well as other disadvantaged students.

Outcomes-Achievement

All of the programs examined in this study--Title I, Article 3, Bilingual, and Emergency School Aid Act Programs--were intended to improve the quality of education provided to the target populations. Since the target populations are predominately perceived as less advantaged and in need of special services to provide them quality education, the purpose of these policies and programs has generally focused on an increased degree of equality in education. Equality in education presumes some basis for determining the quality of education received. In an earlier period in our history, equality was essentially determined by availability of educational programs to all groups of students. In recent decades, however, the quality of education has been assessed by the outcomes rather than by availability. Clearly the criterion of quality is perceived as appropriate in each of the programs examined in these school districts. Although not specifically mentioned, the U.S. Supreme Court certainly implied that the quality of segregated black schools was inferior to that of desegregated schools. Black students do not receive equal education in schools identified as inferior. The purpose of Title I and Article 3 is to improve the performance of the target students. Michigan Article 3 legislation identifies this specifically in terms of reading and mathematic skills. Bilingual programs, both state

and federal, are intended to overcome language and cultural handicaps so that target students can function at a higher level of achievement. It is appropriate, therefore, to ask the following in regard to all the programs: Have they improved the outcomes for target students? Did they provide a higher quality of education? Did they assure a greater degree of equity for these students?

The two districts studied provided little data on which to assess the outcomes of the various programs other than achievement in the basic academic skills of language, reading, and mathematics.

The data on the basic skill achievement in each district was quite different and not comparable. It was, therefore, necessary to examine them separately. In District 1, there was evidence that between 1976-79, the percentage of compensatory education students mastering 16 objectives per year in reading increased. That percentage was approaching 60 percent in 1979. If we assume that 16 objectives is a normal year's growth in achievement, more than 40 percent of the target students did not achieve a year's growth during the academic year. Furthermore, many of these objectives were at grade levels below that in which the student was enrolled, indicating that the gap in reading between disadvantaged target students, (disproportionately minority) and majority students had not been closed. If we assume that more than 16 objectives were the goal for the non-target students, the gap between them and the compensatory education students was even greater and may not have narrowed at all in many schools. As we have indicated, a comparison between the District 1 target students and the non-target students was impossible at the time of the study. The pattern of achievement in mathematics among target students was a little higher than in reading, but had not improved significantly in the year preceding the study. The same problem, as in the case of reading, existed in a comparison of mathematics outcomes. Since students in the compensatory programs had been achieving 50 to 70 percent of the stated achievement goals,

which may be less than for regular students, and frequently on lower grade levels than goals for other students, we must conclude equitable achievement had not been reached in District 1.

The outcomes in math and reading achievement for District 2 students in compensatory programs have been evaluated in terms of the percentage of a year's growth as measured by standardized norm referenced tests. The data indicated that on the average, more than half of the compensatory education students were achieving less than a year's growth in reading and in math. This indicates that these students were not catching up with noncompensatory students. If the latter were achieving a year's growth on the average, most of the students being served by Title I and Article 3 were falling further behind each year. The percentage of noncompensatory education students achieving a year's growth on these tests in District 2 was not available. Other District 2 data, however, clearly demonstrated that black students were achieving at decidedly lower levels than white students and that the gap had not been closed in the years preceding the study. To the extent that the compensatory education students were minority, which they were in a disproportionately high percentage, these programs did not provide equitable educational outcomes for minority students.

Equality of educational outcomes seemed to have little relevance in either school district. Evaluation of the compensatory educational programs which we have examined was based exclusively on the percentage of students achieving the relatively lower objectives held for students in these programs. There were, therefore, little data on which to make a valid comparison of the outcomes for the target students and for the other students.

Much has been written about the importance of improving students' self-concept, particularly among minority and other disadvantaged students. There is no evidence, however, on which to determine whether this has been achieved

in these two districts and, if it has, whether it is associated with any increase in basic skill achievement or other outcomes. Evidence from other research (Brookover, et al., 1979) indicates that black students in Michigan elementary schools have decidely higher concepts of their academic ability than do white students in Michigan schools. Although we do not have data for students in these two school districts, it is possible that black students in these districts also had higher concepts of their academic ability and higher self-esteem than the white students. This may be the result of the special services to disadvantaged students in which there has been much emphasis on the improvement of the students' self-esteem and their general feelings about themselves. Data from the same research, however, indicate that the higher self-concepts which black students express do not necessarily produce higher achievement. In fact, in a random sample of Michigan elementary schools, the mean achievement of black students is clearly below that of white students (Brookover et al., 1979). It is possible that schools have succeeded in communicating to minority students that they should think well of themselves, but have not provided the kind of instructional programs that fulfill their expectations. From the same study, we learn that the black students perceive that the staff expects much less of them and evaluates them less well. Perhaps as a consequence, they feel a much higher sense of futility than the white students. So, improved self-concept may be a necessary, but not sufficient, cause for higher achievement. Although we have no evidence from these two school districts, it is possible that the programs examined have resulted in higher self-concepts of ability and higher self-esteem for minority and poor students without enhancing the achievement in the basic skills or other areas. Evidence from District 1 indicates that the ESAA program in general did not

significantly improve target students' sense of futility over one year. One sub-program of guided interaction did, however, produce significant improvement.

The staffs of the schools studied generally believed that the Title I, Article 3, and bilingual programs enhanced the achievement of the target students, but, as noted, there is little justification for this conclusion in the evidence available. Much of the belief about this was derived from the emphasis that school staffs placed on the importance of becoming aware of disadvantaged students and the importance of enhancing their self-esteem. There was little concern about having these students achieve at the same level as non-target middle class white students. Neither district had adequate achievement or other outcome data to make valid comparisons with the noncompensatory students. Apparently no one considered it important to determine the extent to which policies and programs actually functioned to overcome the disadvantages and provide equitable educational outcomes. No one in either school district, for example, considered the possibility of using as a criterion of success, the percentage of compensatory education students who become ineligible for the program each year because their achievement had reached a higher level. Some estimated that this might be about ten percent of the students.

Placement of minority students in secondary school courses and programs and other evidence concerning dropout and suspension rates also indicate that the programs have not produced equitable outcomes for minority students.

Discussion of Findings

The primary goals of federal Title I, bilingual, and Emergency School Aid Act programs are to assist in overcoming educational disadvantages and to provide equitable education. These are clearly in harmony with the goal of desegregation, that is, the equal protection of the laws or equitable education. The state compensatory education program under Article 3 of Michigan Public

Act 94 has a similar goal with particular reference to basic skill achievement. Analysis of the way in which these programs functioned in two desegregated school districts indicated that the specified programs had not achieved the equal protection and equality of education goals of desegregation as measured by the criteria of resegregation, differentiation, and achievement.

It seems unlikely that the programs as now functioning in the two school districts will achieve equality of education goals of desegregation. This speculation emerges from the assumptions on which the programs are based and the learning theories which dominate the beliefs of the school systems. The underlying assumption regarding the students involved in the compensatory education programs is that they are vastly different in learning abilities from other students. The assumption is that a wide range of learning abilities are aggravated by disadvantaged home conditions to the extent that it is unlikely that target students would be able to achieve at the same or similar levels as students from middle class families. The predominate purpose of the programs as they function in these districts is to provide an educational program that fits the abilities of the target students. This emphasis upon individual differences and adapting programs to those differences is reflected by the lack of concern for determining whether or not students in the programs are achieving at an equitable level with other students.

The emphasis upon individual differences and individual attention is buttressed by a humanistic approach which emphasizes the importance of compensatory education students, particularly minority students, feeling good about themselves and enhancing their self-esteem. Although this is certainly a desirable goal, apparently it does not guarantee maximum achievement. The individual instructional attention that it generates tends to promote the emphasis upon differentiation, resegregation, and the achievement of differential outcomes for the target students.

The emphasis in the federal and state policies and guidelines for the several programs tends to reinforce, perhaps require, differentiation and resegregation. The need to account for the use of resources for the eligible population and the emphasis upon supplementary service rather than supplanting regular services stimulates pull-out for separate, differentiated educational services for compensatory education students. This, combined with the theories of individual differences in learning abilities and individual needs, clearly promotes the practices of differential objectives, differential expectations, and differentiated programs with the concomitant resegregation of students.

The laws providing for compensatory education services tend to encourage the identification of large numbers of eligible students and the maintenance of these eligible target children in the program. The Michigan Article 3 program clearly rewards the school district if the achievement of the eligible students does not rise above the cut off level. Similarly, if federal and state bilingual education programs achieved their aims in shorter periods of time than the resources are provided in the laws, these resources would probably cease to be available. School districts are encouraged to describe very extensive need for improved education programs in order to receive Title I or ESAA funds. If students in eligible schools were all achieving at above average levels, it would be difficult to justify the need for federal funds from either of these sources. Thus there is little or no incentive in the state or federal legislation to provide high quality educational programs and produce high levels of student achievement through these educational programs.

The practices of pull-out resegregation and differentiation in objectives and instructional programs might be justified if the outcomes in achievement clearly demonstrated the effectiveness of the resegregation and differentiation. If within a limited period of time, resegregation and differentiation brought

the target students up to a level of performance equal to that of middle class majority students, the practice of resegregation and differentiation might be tolerated. In the absence of effectiveness, it seems questionable that the various pull-out and differentiated programs can be justified in the name of equal educational opportunity. It would seem appropriate for the evaluation of the several compensatory educational programs to be based on the results in providing high quality equitable outcomes rather than the achievement of some limited inequitable level of objectives.

Recommendations

The failure of the compensatory education programs in these two districts to provide equitable educational outcomes which are the goals of desegregation suggests the need for comprehensive study of the effects of various policies at the district and school level. If educational equity is the aim of federal and state governments in the desegregation of schools, it should certainly be applied to other federal and state educational programs. When such programs result in resegregation, differentiation of students, and inequitable outcomes, they clearly are not compatible with the goals of desegregated education. A comprehensive study to determine the extent to which these educational programs result in inequities should have high priority.

If the two case studies of desegregated school districts are typical of desegregated schools, the policies and practices characteristic of Title I, Michigan Article 3, bilingual, and ESAA programs should be changed. These policies should emphasize the goal of equitable high quality education for all, rather than endorsing differentiated individualized educational objectives. School districts should be rewarded for overcoming the disadvantages of the target populations, whether minority or majority students, rather than for maintaining them in the programs and limiting their level of achievement.

Currently the resources provided for these programs are justified by the number of disadvantaged low achieving minority and language handicapped students in the system. If these school districts found that all Title I and Article 3 students achieved at above average levels within a year and that their bilingual students and newly desegregated black students were all achieving at high levels and speaking fluent English after a few months of special services, they would find it difficult to justify receiving the resources provided by these programs. The policy should be to reward such a performance rather than withhold resources from schools that succeed in providing high quality equitable education for the disadvantaged.

It would seem appropriate to devise programs that promoted desegregation and equitable outcomes within the schools in harmony with the goals of a balanced student body composition. It seems essential that a comprehensive study be designed to determine the degree to which desegregation within schools and equitable outcomes are being achieved by these programs. If the findings of such a study are similar to those in Districts 1 and 2, changes in the educational policies would certainly be in order unless equitable education is no longer a goal in American society.

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APPENDIX A

PERCENT MINORITY ENROLLMENT TITLE I AND ARTICLE 3 BY GRADE DISTRICT ONE

APPENDIX A

PERCENT MINORITY ENROLLMENT TITLE I AND ARTICLE 3 BY GRADE

DISTRICT ONE

SCHOOLS A, B, AND C, 1979-80

	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	All Grades TI A3 % Minority	School % Minority	% Difference TI, A3 Minority vs. School Minority
Percent Minority TI & A3										
School A	50	61	57	60	81			63	44	19
School B	50	48	45	65	50	47	67	53	39	14
School C (Article 3 Only)	50	50	33	59	50	22	58	45	25	20

APPENDIX B

WHY MINORITY OVERREPRESENTATION HAS OCCURRED - DISTRICT ONE

APPENDIX B

WHY MINORITY OVERREPRESENTATION HAS OCCURRED - DISTRICT ONE

STAFF INTERVIEWED: Teachers, instructional aides, central office administrators, and principals.

Response Categories	Number of Responses	Response Rank
Family background of minority children Low socio-economic status Working parents Single parents AFDC Living environments Mobility Cultural differences Lack of faith in educational system	15	1
Program Guidelines	10	2
Greater numbers of minorities not succeeding, minorities need the services more	10	2
Prejudice, institutional racism, personal racism, past discrimination, cultural bias	6	3
Identification and selection process, tests	6	3
Educational system design gives disproportionate efforts toward minorities	1	4
Total Number of Responses	48	

APPENDIX C

DISTRICT ONE COMPENSATORY STUDENTS MASTERING DIGP OBJECTIVES

1976-79

APPENDIX C

Percent of District One Title I and Article 3 Students Mastering Sixteen or More District Instructional Guidance Plan Reading and Mathematics Objectives, 1976-77 to 1978-79.

Program	% Gaining 16 or More Objectives--Reading			% Change	% Gaining 16 or More Ojectives--Mathematics			% Change
	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1976-79	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1976-79
Article 3	26	45	52	+26	65	60	66	+1
Title I	31	45	50	+19	75	68	70	-5

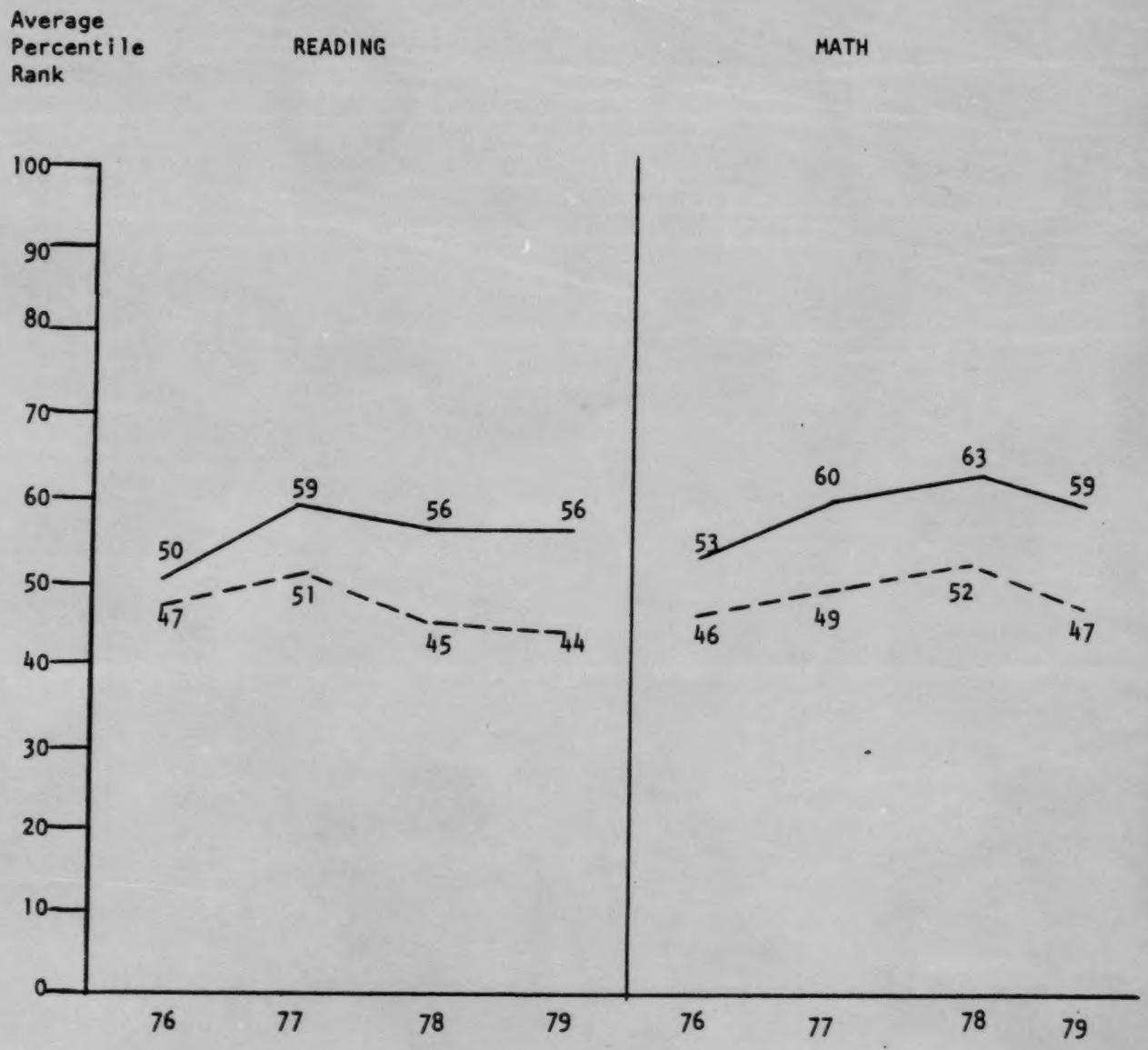
APPENDIX D

MAJORITY AND MINORITY STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT

DISTRICT ONE

APPENDIX D, FIGURE 1

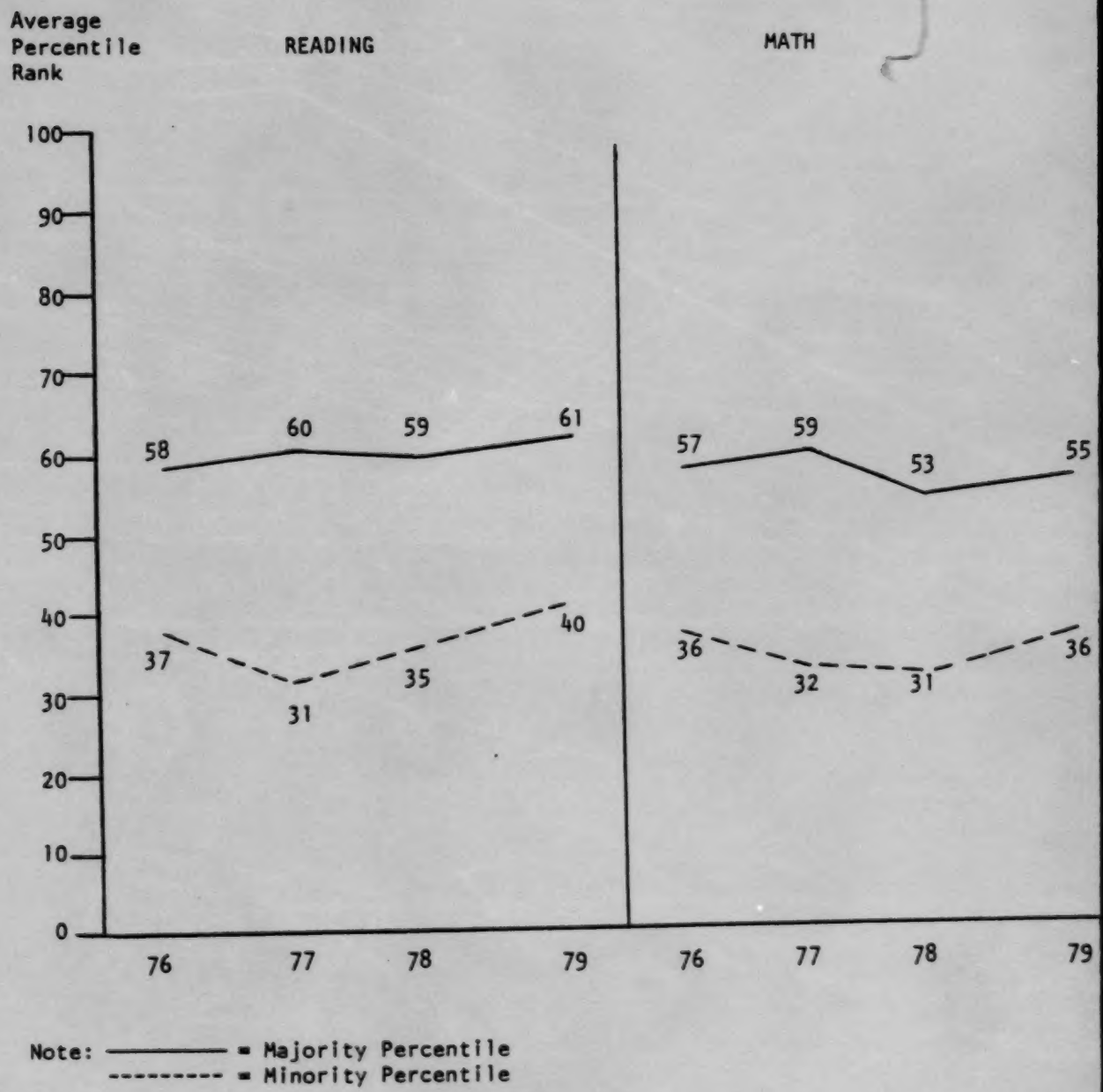
FOUR YEAR LONGITUDINAL ACHIEVEMENT, BY SCHOOL YEAR AND BY BUILDING, OF MINORITY AND MAJORITY STUDENTS IN SCHOOL A



Note: ———— = Majority Percentile
--------- = Minority Percentile

APPENDIX D, FIGURE 2

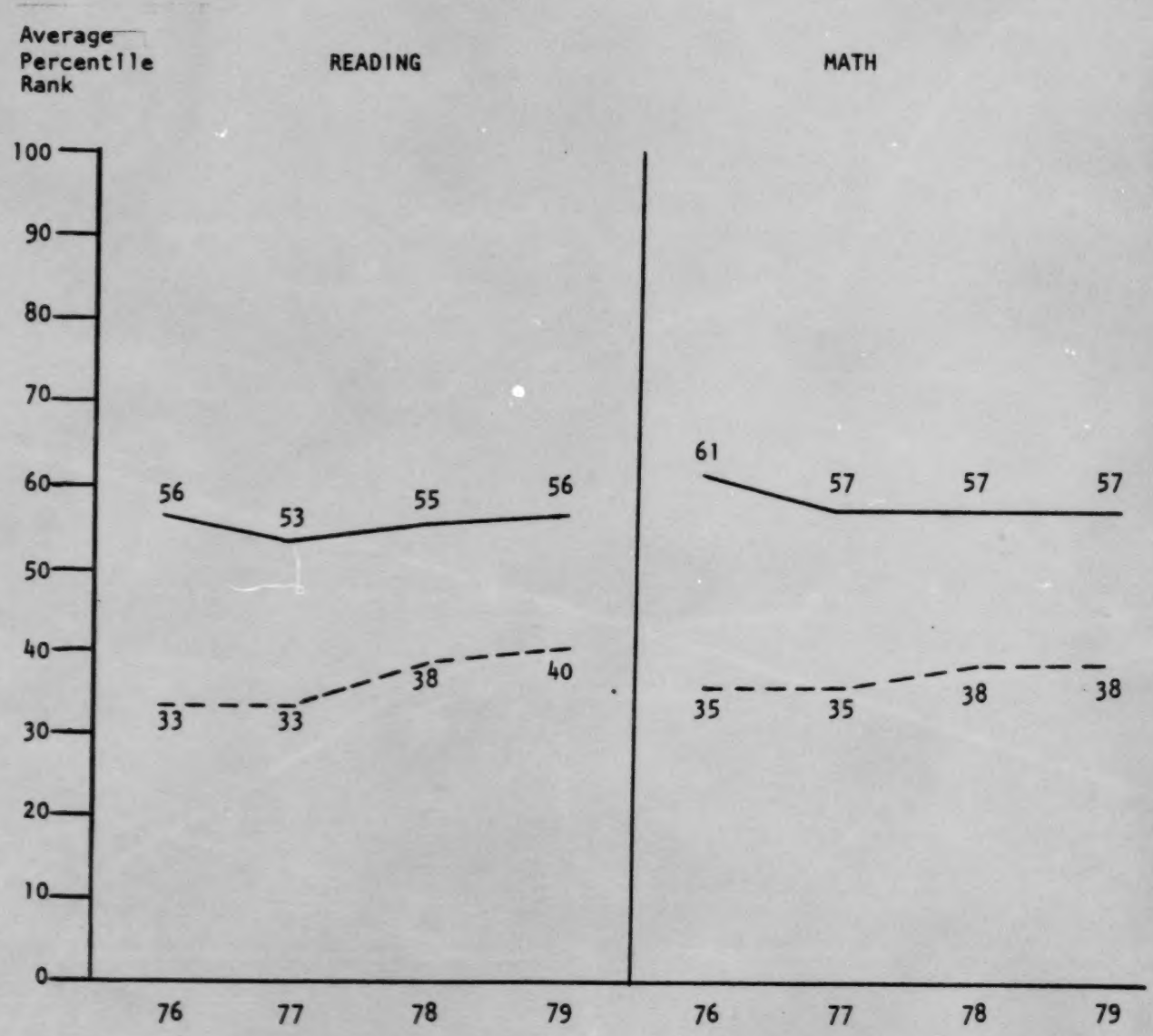
FOUR YEAR LONGITUDINAL ACHIEVEMENT, BY SCHOOL YEAR AND BY BUILDING, OF MINORITY AND MAJORITY STUDENTS IN SCHOOL B



Note: ———— = Majority Percentile
--------- = Minority Percentile

APPENDIX D, FIGURE 3

FOUR YEAR LONGITUDINAL ACHIEVEMENT, BY SCHOOL YEAR AND BY BUILDING, OF MINORITY AND MAJORITY STUDENTS IN SCHOOL C



Note: ———— = Majority Percentile
--------- = Minority Percentile

APPENDIX E

DISTRICT ONE DIFFERENCES IN INSTRUCTION WITHOUT COMPENSATORY RESOURCES

APPENDIX E

Response to an inquiry concerning what differences in the instructional program in your school district would result if the resources provided for by the compensatory education programs did not exist.

STAFF INTERVIEWED: Teachers, instructional aides, central office administrators, and principals.

Response Categories	Number of Responses
Less aides, staff reductions	26
Less individualized instruction	18
Wider range of abilities to handle within the regular classroom, more reading groups, larger class size, less time spent with regular students	15
Less money available for supplies and materials	8
Less time would be spent with slower students	8
Less testing, less monitoring	5
Lowering of goals and expectations set for them (compensatory education students)	2
Others more discipline problems have to scrape up materials more programs would not exist less parent involvement less staff inservice less reinforcement for students	8
Total Number of Responses	90

APPENDIX F

POSITIVE OUTCOMES OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAMS - DISTRICT ONE

APPENDIX F

POSITIVE OUTCOMES OF

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Response Categories	Number of Responses	Response Rank
Compensatory education programs increase pupils' reading and mathematics achievement	35	1
Compensatory education programs improve students' self-concept and attitude	22	2
Compensatory education programs provide for individualization of instruction, small group instruction, one to one instruction	16	3
Compensatory education programs provide special supplementary services to disadvantaged children	5	4
Others provide staff inservice assist in desegregation teachers learn how to work with low achievers	5	4
Compensatory education programs provide additional money for supplies and staff	4	5
Compensatory education programs increase the possibility for parental involvement	2	6
Total Number of Responses	89	

APPENDIX G

NEGATIVE OUTCOMES OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAMS - DISTRICT ONE

APPENDIX G

NEGATIVE OUTCOMES OF

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Response Categories	Number of Responses	Response Rank
Guidelines exclude certain children who need the help, requires aides only work with certain children	16	1
Stigmatization and labeling of students that are involved in compensatory education programs	11	2
Segregation and resegregation of students	10	3
Disruption of classes, scheduling problems, interruption of daily schedule	9	4
Compensatory education students miss instruction and class activities	7	4
Other noise in halls over dependence on programs loss of funds	6	6
Discipline problems	4	7
Program goals are not focused on areas of student needs	3	8
Lack of communication between compensatory and noncompensatory education staff	2	9
Difficulty in planning, funding timetable	1	10
Total Number of Responses	69	

APPENDIX H

SPECIAL EDUCATION STUDENTS BY RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP AND GRADE LEVEL IN DISTRICT TWO

APPENDIX H, TABLE 1

PERCENTAGES OF EMI STUDENTS, BY SCHOOL LEVEL AND RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP, 1970-79

	1970-71					1971-72					1972-73					1973-74					1974-75				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Early Elementary					.7		1.2			1.2		1.4			.8		1.2			.7		1.0			.5
Later Elementary		4.0		4.2	4.8		3.2			1.6		2.2			1.1		2.3			1.2		1.7			.7
Junior High Sch.							4.7			1.5		5.4		3.2	1.9		3.5			1.7		1.1		3.0	.7
Senior High Sch.							2.8		3.0	.7															

	1975-76					1976-77					1977-78					1978-79				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Early Elementary		1.0		1.7	.9		.6		1.7	.5		.9	3.6		.8		1.3	3.1		.7
Later Elementary		1.6			.8		2.3			.6		2.0	4.0		.8	3.0	1.5		3.0	.9
Junior High Sch.							2.7			1.1		2.8			1.4		3.8			1.4
Senior High Sch.		1.5			.6												3.1			.8

Legend: 1 = American Indian
2 = Black
3 = Oriental
4 = Spanish American
5 = White or Other

APPENDIX H, TABLE 2

PERCENTAGES OF EI STUDENTS, BY SCHOOL LEVEL AND RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP, 1970-79

	1970-71					1971-72					1972-73					1973-74					1974-75				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Early Elementary												.7			.6		.2			.2		.4			.4
Later Elementary												.4			.7		.7			1.7		.9			1.0
Junior High School												.6			.5		.5			.4		3.2		2.5	1.3
Senior High School																									

	1975-76					1976-77					1977-78					1978-79				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Early Elementary		.5			.2		.8			1.0		.7			1.0		.2	3.1		.6
Later Elementary		1.6			.9		1.5			.7		1.1			.4		1.0			.5
Junior High School		.6			.1		3.8		3.1	.7		3.0			1.3		.9			1.1
Senior High School		.6			.1												1.6			.5

Legend: 1 = American Indian
2 = Black
3 = Oriental
4 = Spanish American
5 = White or Other

APPENDIX H, TABLE 3

PERCENTAGES OF LD STUDENTS, BY SCHOOL LEVEL AND RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP, 1970-79

	1970-71					1971-72					1972-73					1973-74					1974-75				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Early Elementary																	.5			.7		.9			.6
Later Elementary																						1.1			.6
Junior High School																									
Senior High School																									

	1975-76					1976-77					1977-78					1978-79				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Early Elementary		1.8			1.3		.6			1.1		1.0			.9		.7			1.0
Later Elementary		1.3			.5		2.0			1.0		1.2			1.4		1.4			1.3
Junior High School		5.1			2.0		1.8			.4		2.8			1.0		1.7			.3
Senior High School					.2												2.2			.6

Legend:
1 = American Indian
2 = Black
3 = Oriental
4 = Spanish American
5 = White or Other

APPENDIX H, TABLE 4

PERCENTAGES OF EMI STUDENTS, BY RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP
YEAR, AND SCHOOL LEVEL, 1970-79

	1970-71					1971-72					1972-73					1973-74					1974-75				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Early Elementary					100		18			72		31			69		31			69		38			62
Later Elementary		27		1	72		34			66		37			63		37			63		40			60
Junior High Sch.		60			40		40			60		41		1	58		37			63		31		3	66
Senior High Sch.							40		3	57															

	1975-76					1976-77					1977-78					1978-79				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Early Elementary		23		2	75		26		4	70		29	3		68		45	3		52
Later Elementary		44			56		62			38		51	3		46	3	38		5	54
Junior High Sch.							45			55		43			57		53			47
Senior High Sch.		39			61												56			44

Legend: 1 = American Indian
2 = Black
3 = Oriental
4 = Spanish American
5 = White or Other

APPENDIX H, TABLE 5

PERCENTAGES OF EI STUDENTS, BY RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP, YEAR, AND SCHOOL LEVEL, 1970-79

	1970-71					1971-72					1972-73					1973-74					1974-75				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Early Elementary												24			76		22			78		25			75
Later Elementary												15			85		12			88		24			76
Junior High Sch.		19			81							21			79		27			73		46		2	52
Senior High Sch.																									

	1975-76					1976-77					1977-78					1978-79				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Early Elementary		45			55		20			80		19			81		10	5		85
Later Elementary		40			60		44			56		55			45		45			55
Junior High Sch.		71			29		64		2	34		48			52		28			72
Senior High Sch.		67			33												52			48

Legend:
1 = American Indian
2 = Black
3 = Oriental
4 = Spanish American
5 = White or Other

APPENDIX H, TABLE 6

PERCENTAGES OF LD STUDENTS BY RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP, YEAR, AND SCHOOL LEVEL, 1970-79

	1970-71					1971-72					1972-73					1973-74					1974-75				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Early Elementary																	19			81		30			70
Later Elementary																						41			59
Junior High Sch.		24			76																				
Senior High Sch.																									

	1975-76					1976-77					1977-78					1978-79				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Early Elementary		29			71		16			84		27			73		24			76
Later Elementary		57			43		46			54		27			73		32			68
Junior High Sch.		59			41		58			42		52			48		70			30
Senior High Sch.					100												53			47

Legend:
1 = American Indian
2 = Black
3 = Oriental
4 = Spanish American
5 = White or Other

APPENDIX I

ACHIEVEMENT OF TITLE I STUDENTS

DISTRICT TWO

APPENDIX I, TABLE 1

GRADE EQUIVALENT UNIT GAINS FOR DISTRICT TWO TITLE I STUDENTS IN 2, 3, AND 4 GRADE READING, BY SCHOOL, 1976-77

School	No. of Students Pre- and Post-tested	Less Than 1.0 Year	1.0 Year or More	1.6 Years* or More
A	34	29	5	4
B	27	22	5	0
C	27	16	11	4
D	7	7	0	0
E	40	36	4	1
F	28	21	7	0
G	20	19	1	0
H	34	25	9	1
I	25	12	13	2
J	18	16	2	0
K	24	17	7	0
N=	284	220	64	12
		77%	23%	4%

*Also included in previous column, 1.0 year or more.

Source: ESEA Title I Evaluation Reports for the School Years 1976-77 and 1977-78

APPENDIX I, TABLE 2

GRADE EQUIVALENT UNIT GAINS FOR DISTRICT TWO TITLE I STUDENTS IN 2, 3, AND 4 GRADE READING, BY SCHOOL, 1977-78

School	No. of Students Pre- and Post-tested	Less Than 1.0 Year	1.0 Year or More	1.6 Year or More
A	50	29	21	6
B	34	31	3	1
C	24	19	5	3
D	25	23	2	2
E	79	60	19	2
F	53	42	11	1
G	41	34	7	1
H	92	67	25	7
I	32	24	8	2
J	46	40	6	2
K	62	52	10	1
N =	538	421	117	28
		78%	22%	5%

*Also included in previous column, 1.0 year or more.

Source: ESEA Title I Evaluation Reports for the School Years 1976-77 and 1977-78

APPENDIX I, TABLE 3

GRADE EQUIVALENT UNIT GAINS FOR DISTRICT TWO TITLE I STUDENTS

IN 4, 5, AND 6 GRADE READING, BY SCHOOL

1976-77

School	No. of Students Pre- and Post-tested	Less Than 1.0 Year	1.0 Year or More	1.6 Years* or More
T	19	10	9	3
U	36	21	15	4
V	35	23	12	5
W	18	9	9	4
X	65	29	36	21
Y	78	38	40	21
Z	96	58	38	20
	347	188	159	78
		54%	46%	22%

*Also included in previous column, 1.0 year or more.

Source: ESEA Title I Evaluation Reports
for the School Years 1976-77 and 1977-78

APPENDIX I, TABLE 4

GRADE EQUIVALENT UNIT GAINS FOR DISTRICT TWO TITLE I STUDENTS IN 4, 5, AND 6 GRADE READING, BY SCHOOL, 1977-78

School	No. of Students Pre- and Post-tested	Less Than 1.0 Year	1.0 Year or More	1.6 Years* or More
T	(31)	19	12	7
U	(100)	49	51	18
V	(37)	19	16	6
W	(13)	7	6	1
X	(93)	48	45	18
Y	(57)	24	33	13
Z	(78)	40	38	19
N =	409	206	203	82
		50%	20%	50%

*Also included in previous column, 1.0 year or more.

Source: ESEA Title I Evaluation Reports for the School Years 1976-77 and 1977-78

APPENDIX I, TABLE 5

GRADE EQUIVALENT UNIT GAINS FOR DISTRICT TWO TITLE I STUDENTS IN 2, 3, AND 4 GRADE MATHEMATICS, BY SCHOOL, 1976-77

School	No. of Students Pre- and Post-tested	Less Than 1.0 Year	1.0 Year or More	1.6 Years* or More
A	19	12	7	0
B	24	11	13	0
D	2	2	0	0
F	45	12	33	7
G	19	7	12	3
I	7	3	4	1
J	12	8	4	1
N =	128	55	73	12
		43%	57%	9%

*Also included in previous column, 1.0 year or more.

Source: ESEA Title I Evaluation Reports for the School Years 1976-77 and 1977-78

APPENDIX I, TABLE 6

GRADE EQUIVALENT UNIT GAINS FOR DISTRICT TWO TITLE I STUDENTS

IN 2, 3, AND 4 GRADE MATHEMATICS, BY SCHOOL

1977-78

School	No. of Students Pre- and Post-tested	Less Than 1.0 Year	1.0 Year or More	1.6 Years or More
A	43	24	19	3
B	12	4	8	2
C	12	5	7	0
D	6	4	2	1
F	28	11	17	4
G	24	8	16	5
I	11	4	7	6
J	21	14	7	2
N =	157	74	83	23
		47%	53%	15%

*Also included in previous column, 1.0 year or more.

Source: ESEA Title I Evaluation Reports
for the School Years 1976-77 and 1977-78

APPENDIX I, TABLE 7

GRADE EQUIVALENT UNIT GAINS FOR DISTRICT TWO TITLE I STUDENTS IN 4, 5, AND 6 GRADE MATHEMATICS, BY SCHOOL, 1976-77

School	No. of Students Pre- and Post-tested	Less Than 1.0 Year	1.0 Year or More	1.6 Years* or More
T	26	9	17	10
U	31	16	15	3
V	33	18	15	5
W	9	5	4	1
X	17	7	10	2
Y	55	30	25	6
N =	171	85	86	32
		50%	50%	19%

*Also included in previous column, 1.0 year or more

Source: ESEA Title I Evaluation Reports for the School Years 1976-77 and 1977-78

APPENDIX I, TABLE 8

GRADE EQUIVALENT UNIT GAINS FOR DISTRICT TWO TITLE I STUDENTS IN 4, 5, AND 6 GRADE MATHEMATICS, BY SCHOOL, 1977-78

School	No. of Students Pre- and Post-tested	Less Than 1.0 Year	1.0 Year or More	1.6 Years* or More
T	(13)	4	3	9
U	(47)	30	6	17
V	(37)	19	9	18
W	(14)	6	4	8
X	(35)	22	8	13
Y	(57)	24	13	33
Z	(32)	21	3	11
N =	235	126	46	109
		54%	20%	46%

*Also included in previous column, 1.0 year or more

Source: ESEA Title I Evaluation Reports for the School Years 1976-77 and 1977-78

APPENDIX J

MAJORITY - MINORITY ACHIEVEMENT PATTERNS IN DISTRICT TWO

FIGURE 1

MAT READING 1975-1976

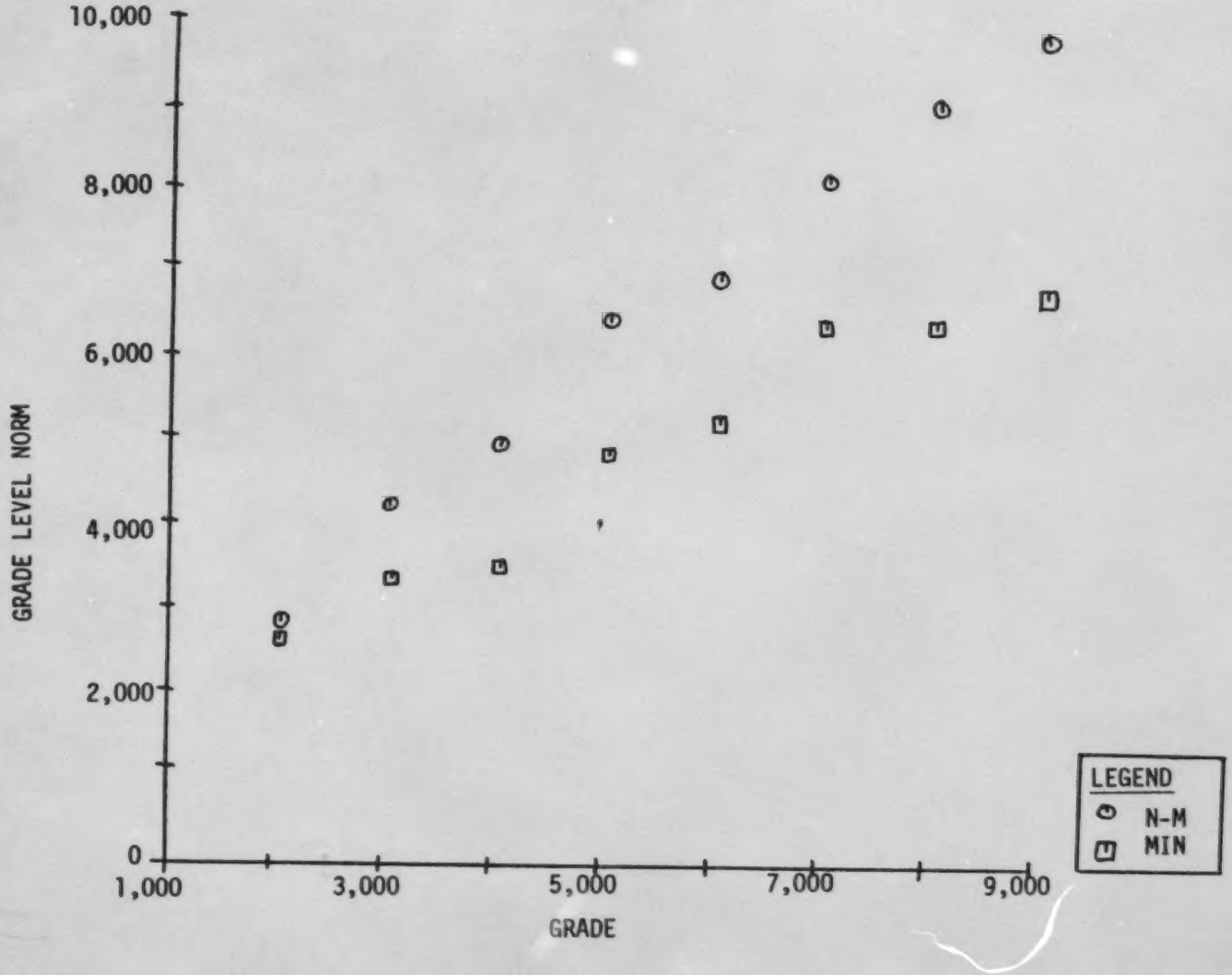


FIGURE 2

MAT READING 1976-1977

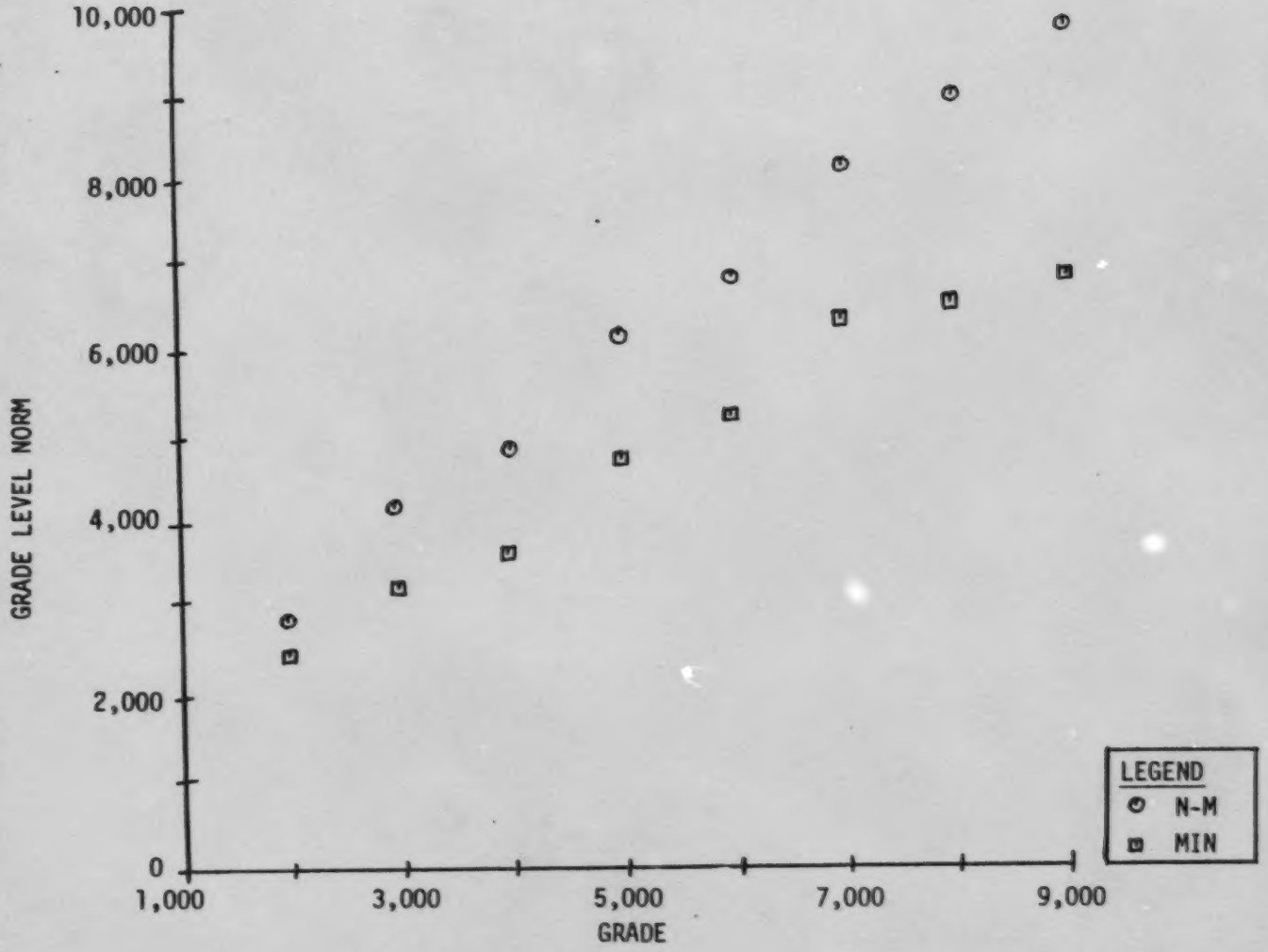


FIGURE 3
MAT READING 1977-1978

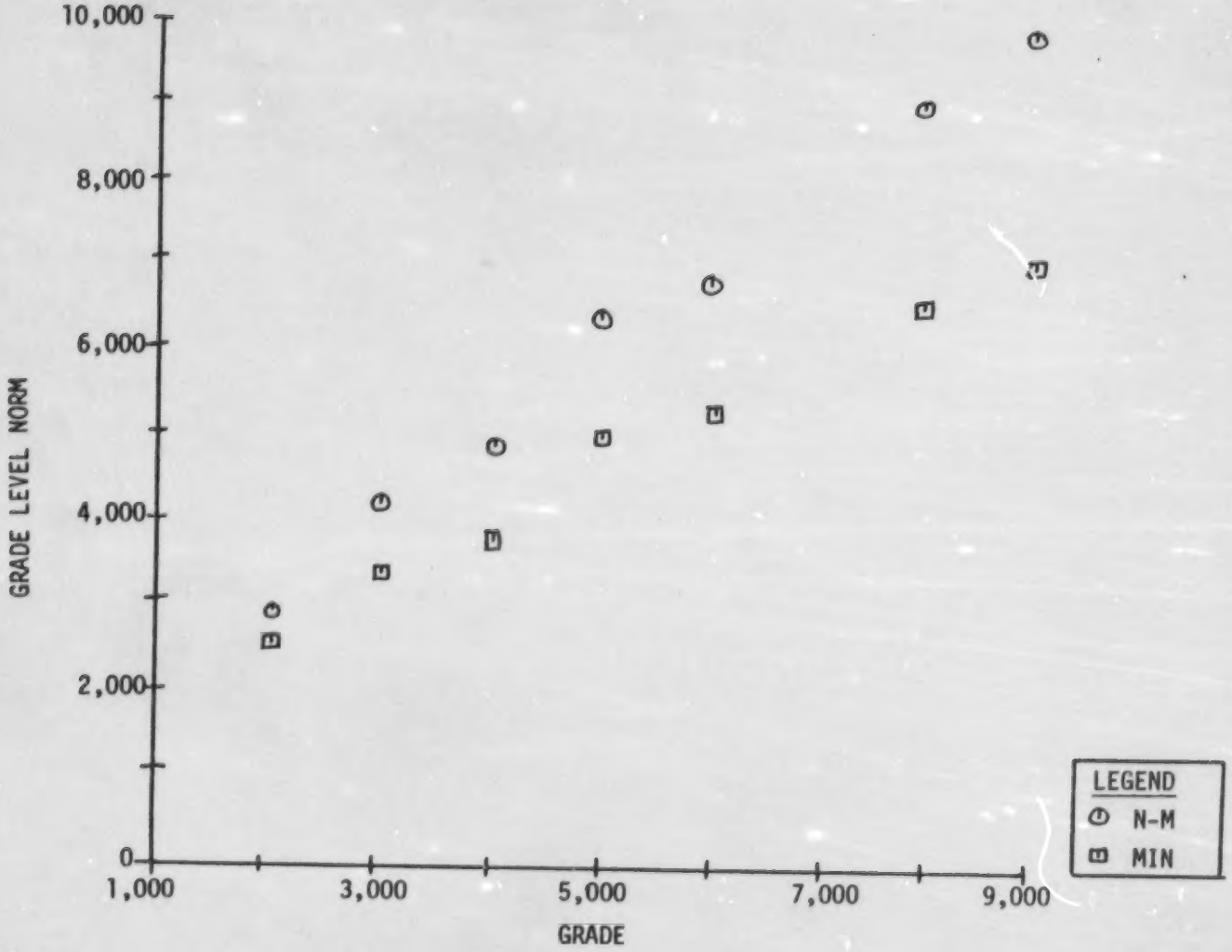


FIGURE 4

MAT MATH - 1975-1976

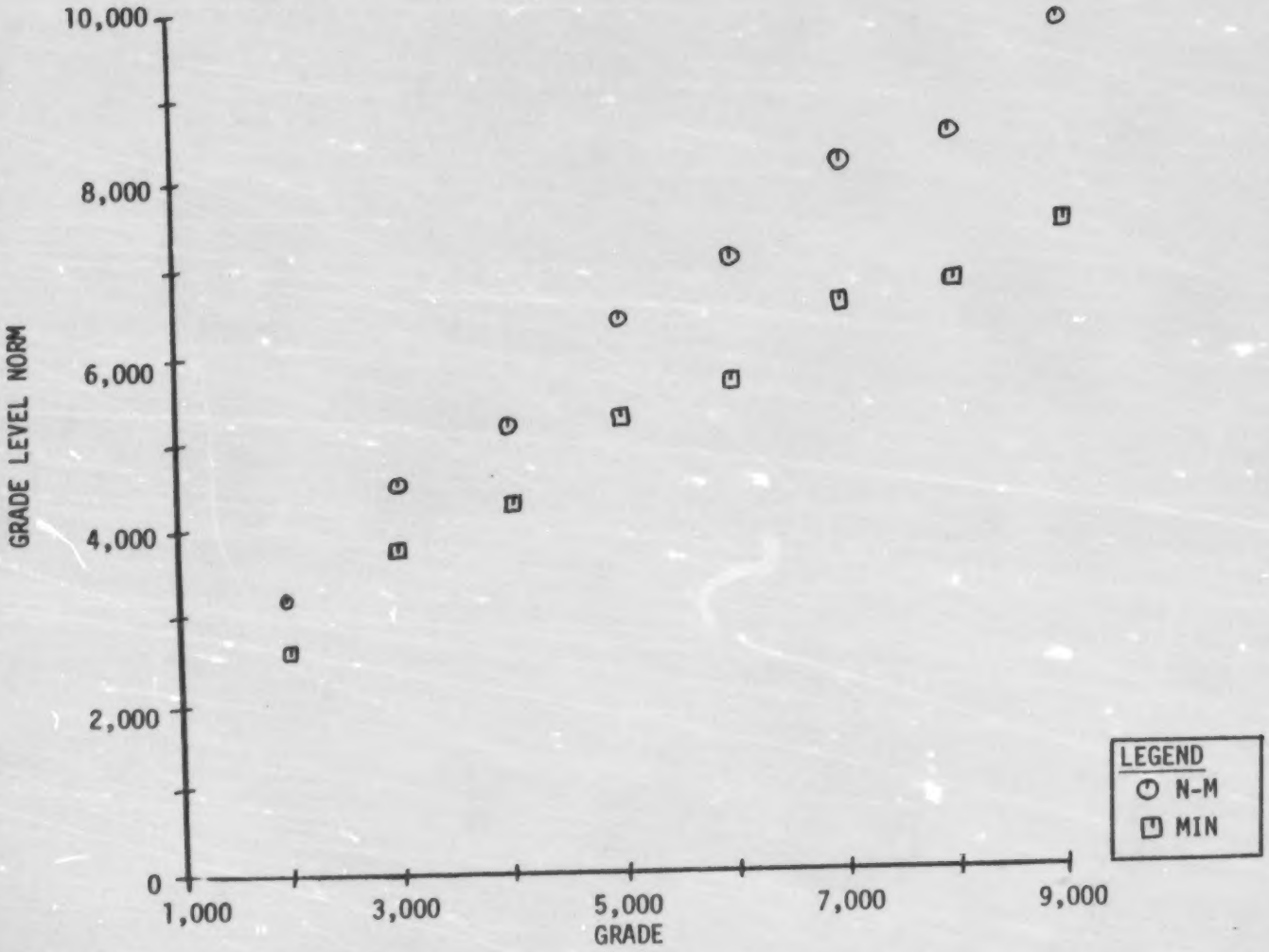


FIGURE 5

MAT MATH - 1976-1977

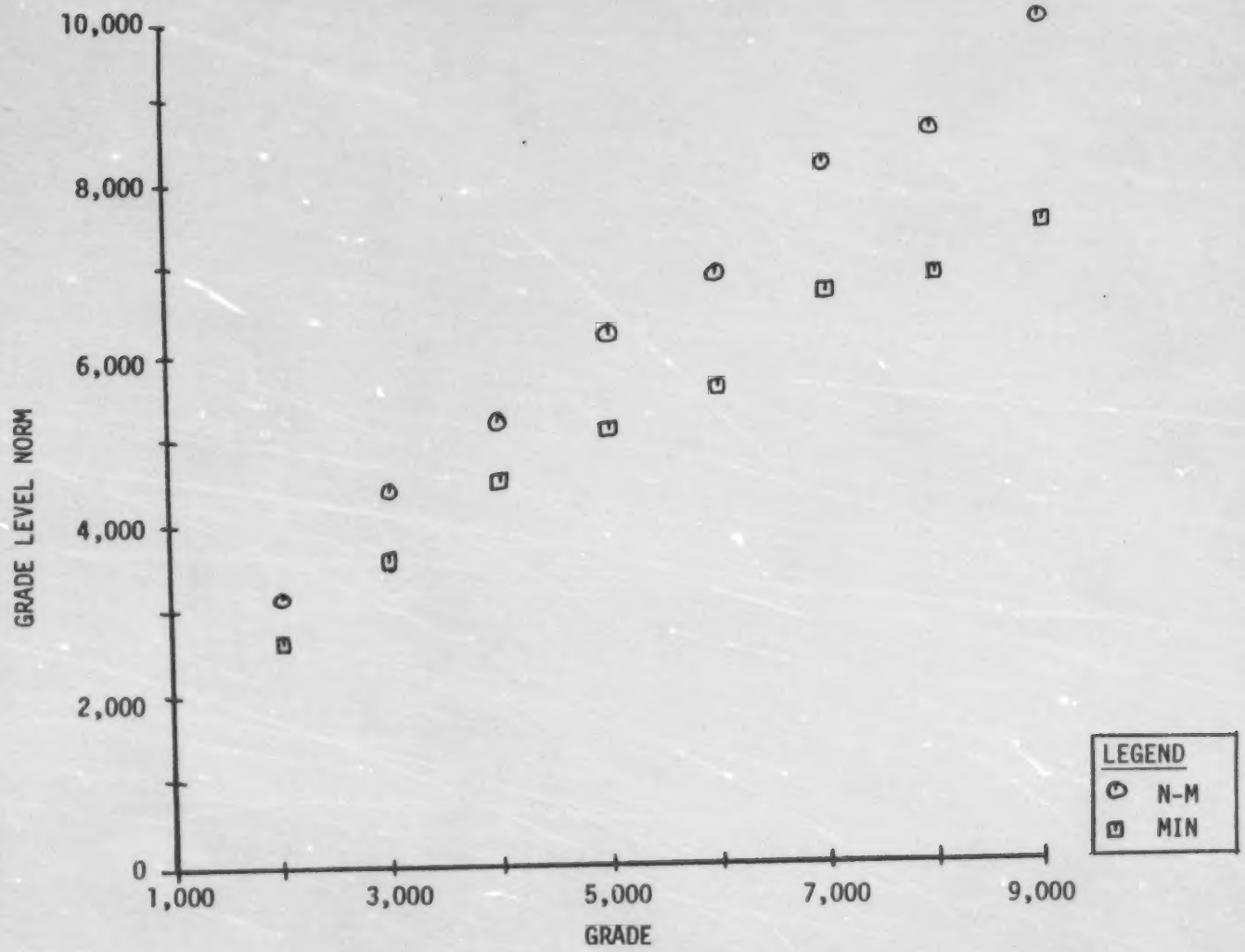


FIGURE 6

MAT MATH - 1977-1978

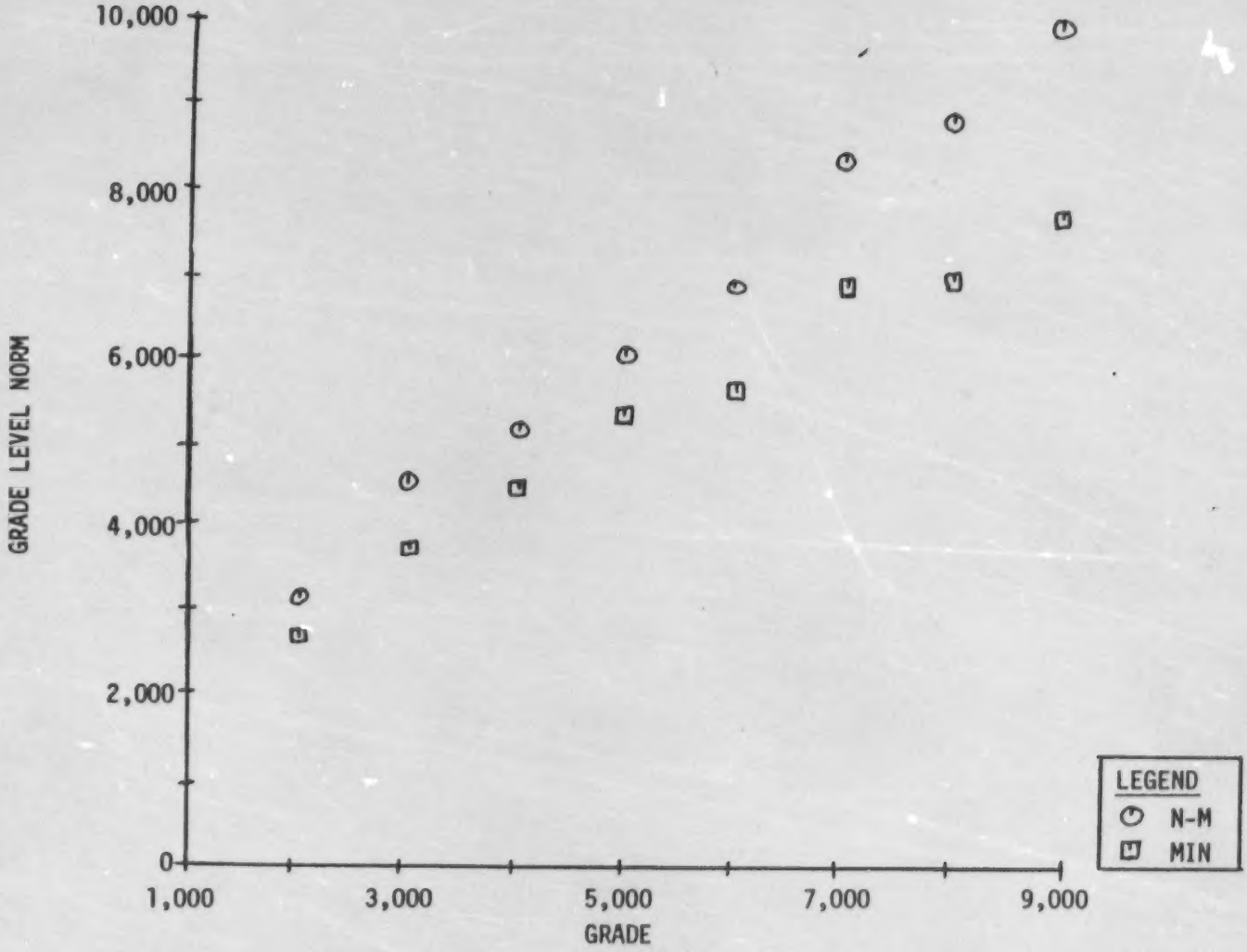


FIGURE 7

MAT SCIENCE 1975-1976

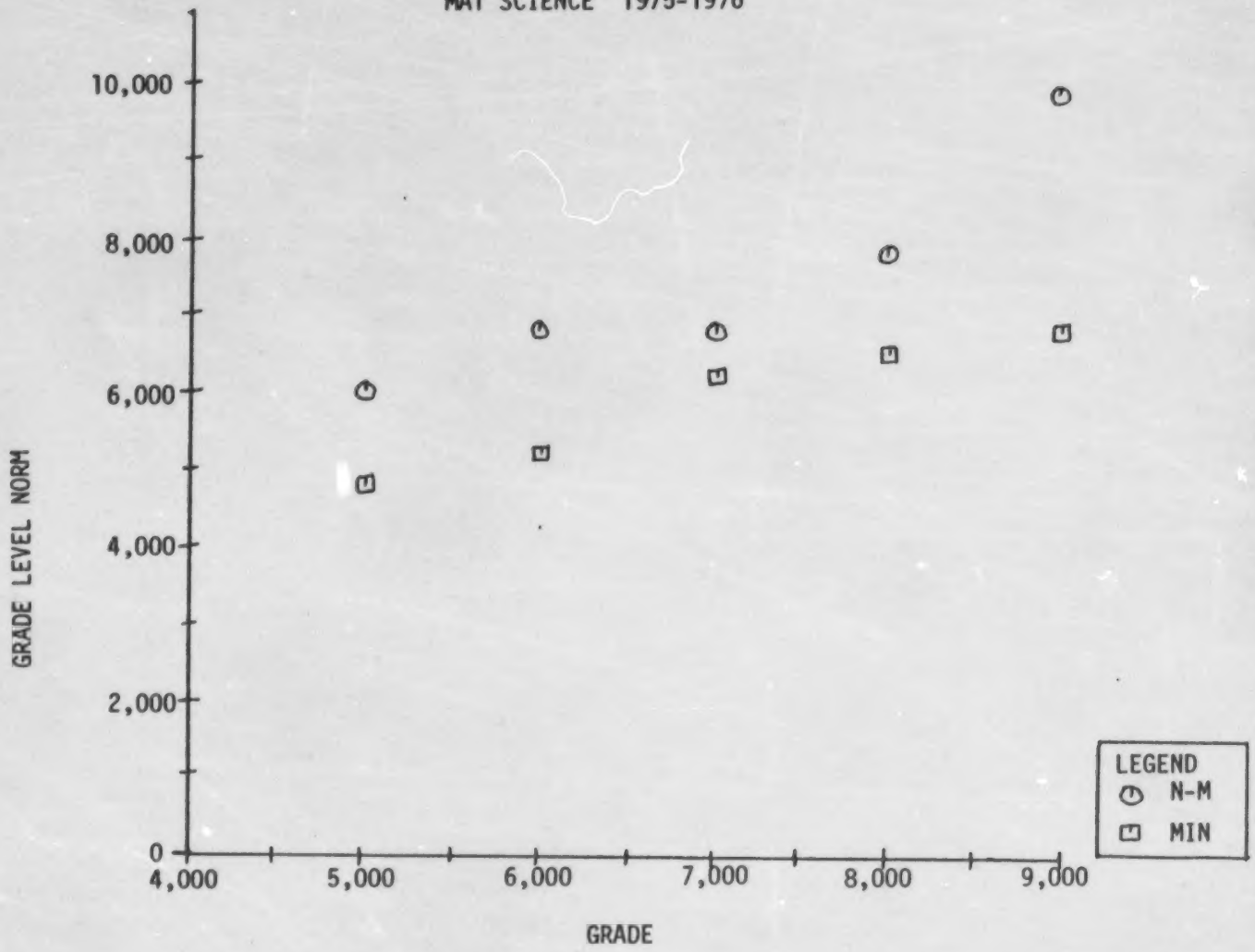


FIGURE 8

MAT SCIENCE 1976-1977

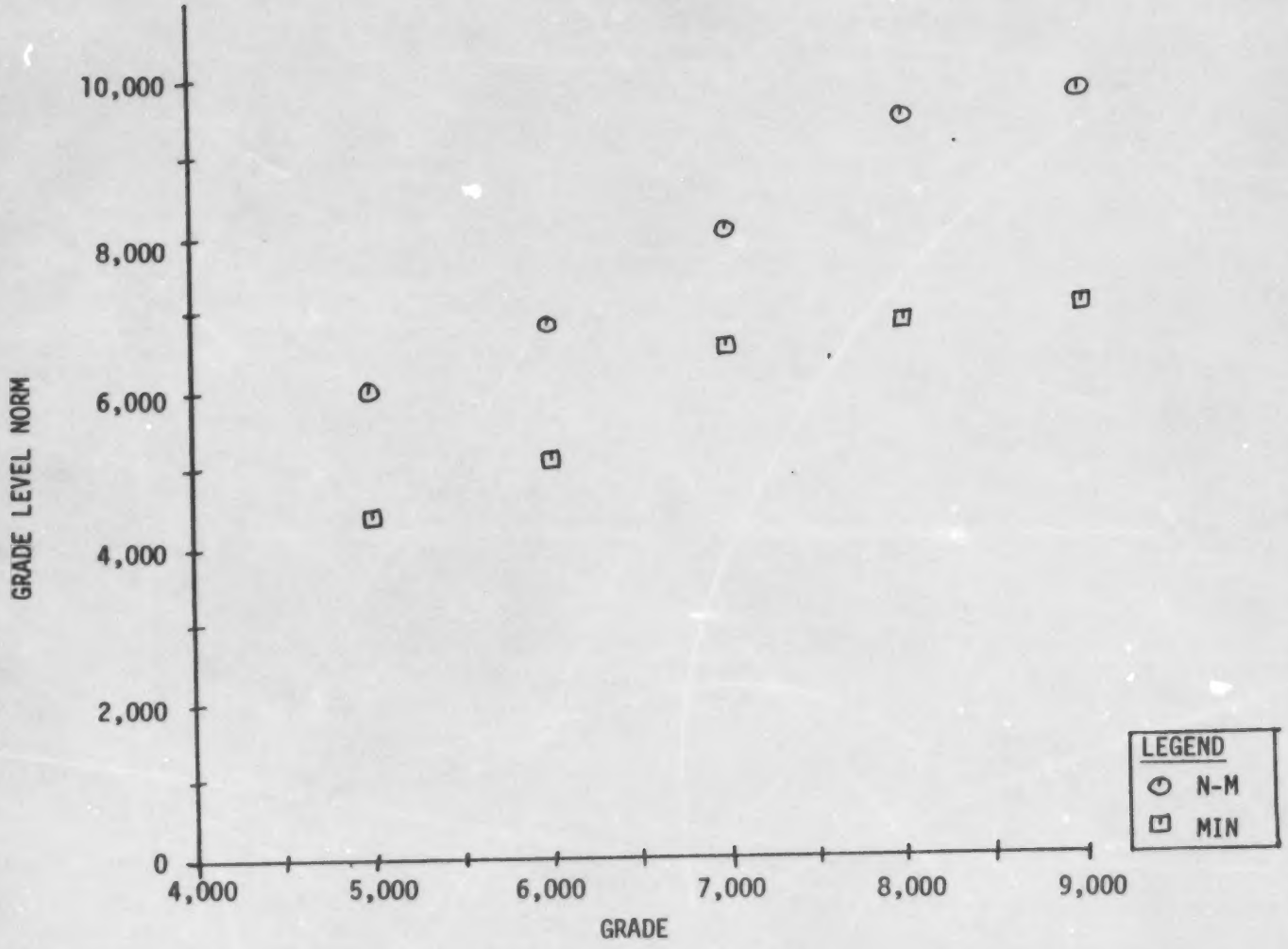


FIGURE 9

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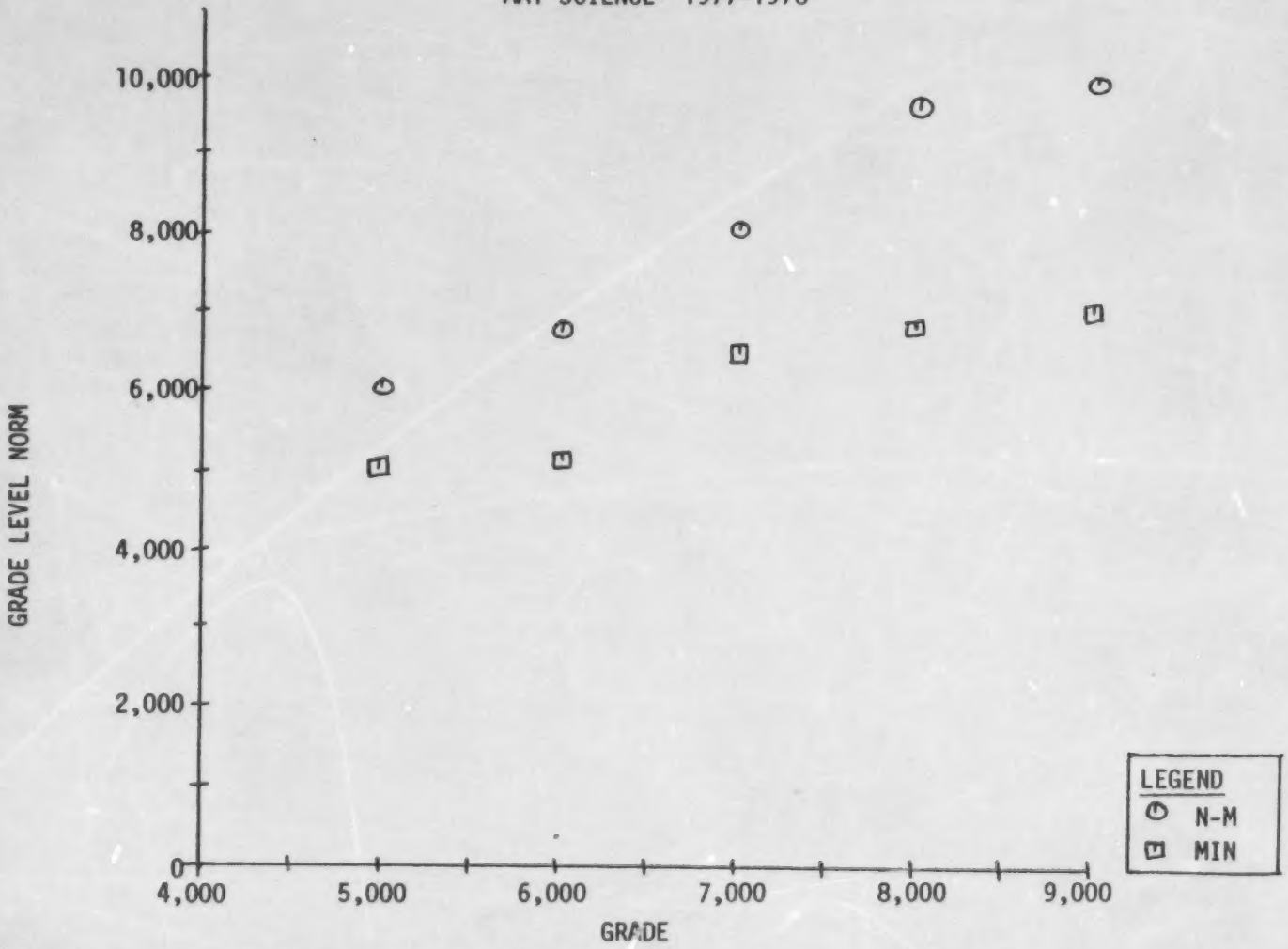
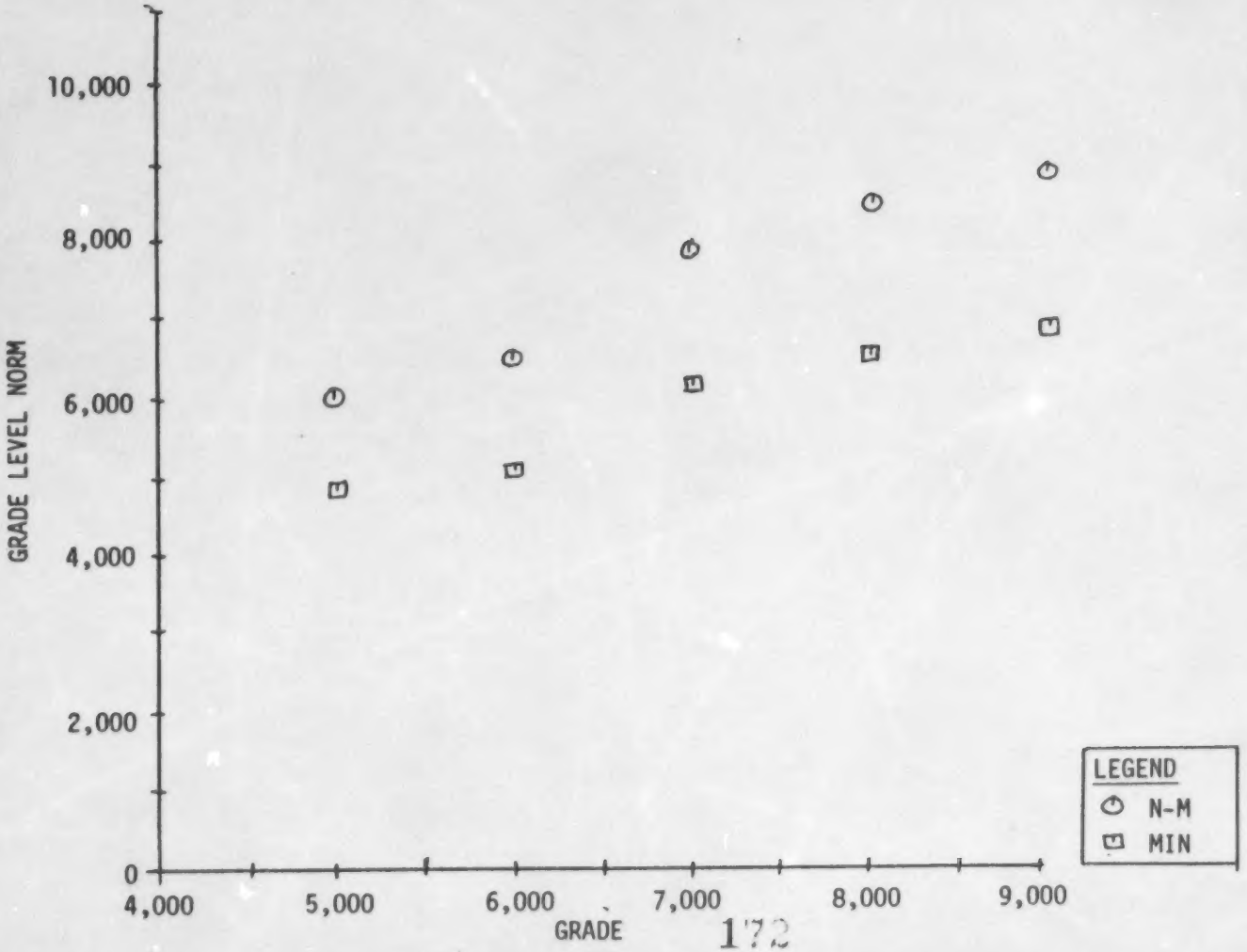


FIGURE 10

MAT SOCIAL STUDIES 1975-1976



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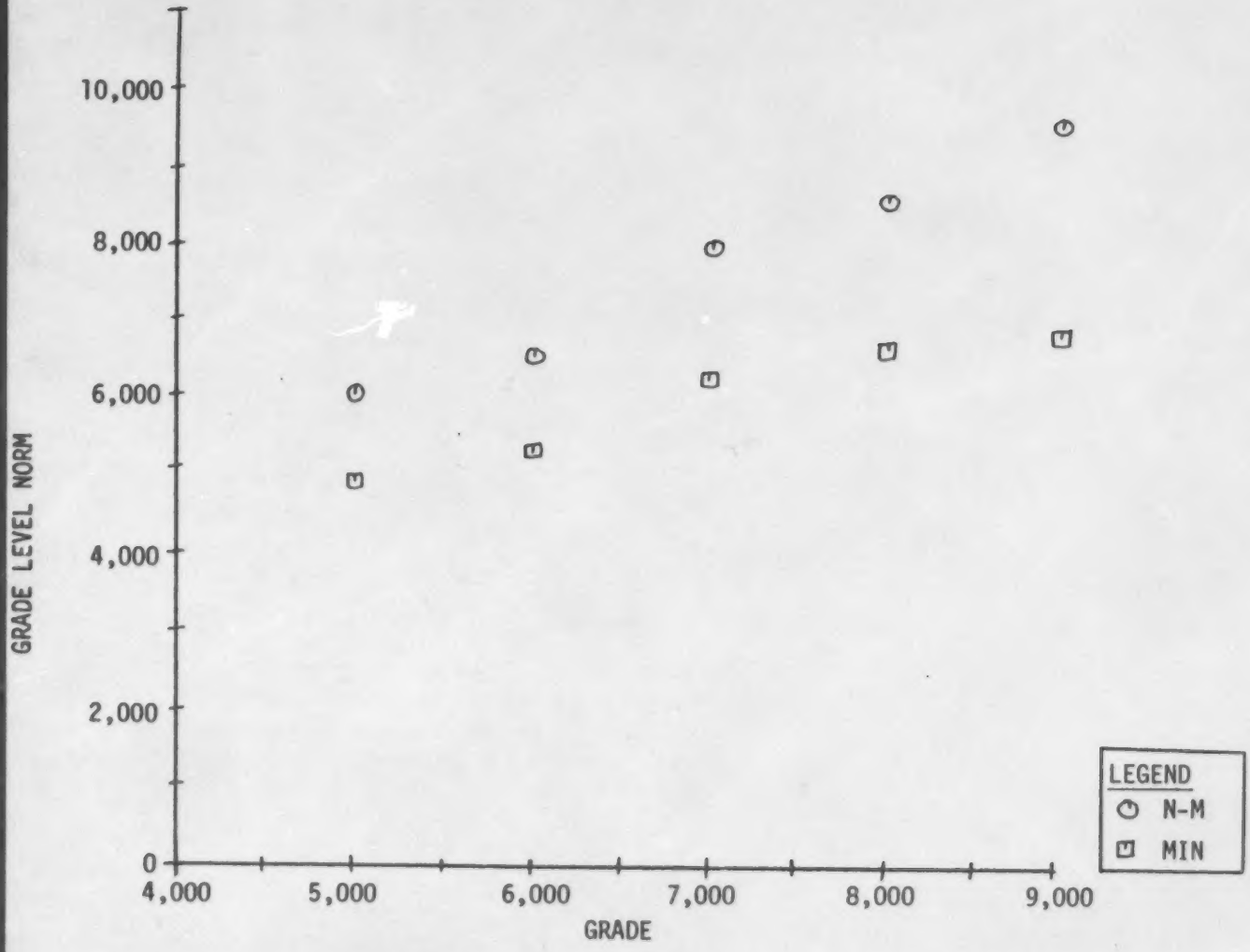
MAT SOCIAL STUDIES 1976-1977



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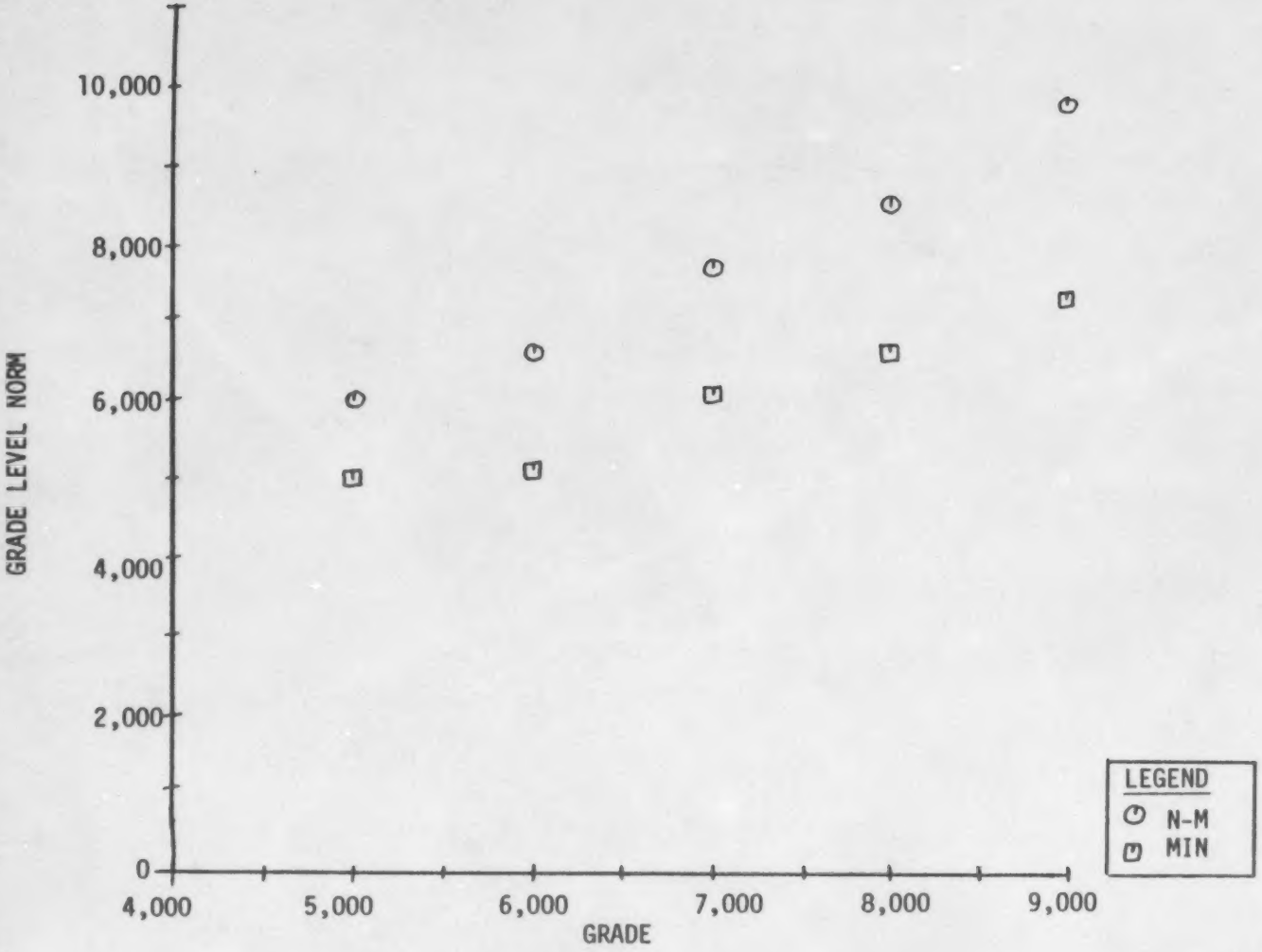
MAT SOCIAL STUDIES 1977-1978



Third Generation School Desegregation Issues:

An Agenda For The Future

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INTRODUCTION

Since the Brown Decision in 1954, the issues and controversy surrounding school desegregation have undergone continuing evolution. Initially, there was an all-out effort to place the blame for segregation and to determine the extent of racial mixing required to satisfy the dictates of the Supreme Court. Second generation issues are concerned with resegregation within purportedly desegregated school districts.

School desegregation is now moving into a new era to be defined by the concerns of professionals who play various roles in the school desegregation process and its outcome. It was with this third generation of issues in mind that the College of Urban Development at Michigan State University convened three symposia involving: 1) media representatives, 2) school administrators and policy makers, and 3) legal professionals. These persons were asked to help College social scientists define educational desegregation policy issues which might be scientifically researched in order to provide pertinent information to professionals involved in various aspects of school desegregation.

The symposia, convened during the first half of 1980, were effective in identifying a number of questions which have not been answered satisfactorily, according to the participants. Furthermore, the discussions highlighted the extent to which all groups had common

concerns. It was also apparent that much of the extant social science research on school desegregation has gone unnoticed by professionals in other disciplines, suggesting that more effective and efficient methods are needed for disseminating desegregation research findings.

The following report reviews the first and second generation school desegregation issues which have been of concern since Brown and defines a third generation of questions. These questions merge the interests of social scientists and other professionals whose work affects the school desegregation process. Issues raised by media representatives, school policy makers, and legal professionals are then categorized, and each category is commented upon from the perspective of social science research. All questions generated by symposia participants are appended in two sections, one listing concerns unique to the respective professions, and one listing concerns common to all.

FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION ISSUES

More than 25 years have now elapsed since the Supreme Court ruled in Brown v. Board of Education. The court found that a state may not separate black and white children without violating the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which requires that no state shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

In the years immediately following Brown, its meaning, the steps which were necessary to achieve school integration, and even the definiton of unconstitutional segregation remained unclear. While de jure segregation was said to be brought about by official governmental policy, it eventually came to refer to a variety of official segregative practices by schools, such as open enrollment programs that allow white students to leave schools that are disproportionately black, changes in school attendance zones which perpetuate segregation, and construction programs which perpetuate segregation (Bullock, 1978). The issue was further complicated in some instances by desegregation which did not exist as a function of official policy. Indeed, in the North, segregation was more typically said to be de facto, since racial separation was not clearly legislated or created by official policy.

While these issues were the central focus in school desegregation for many years, there now has developed a second generation

of school desegregation issues involving new allegations of discrimination. Although desegregation may be operationalized by pupil transportation alone, it is not necessarily true that as a consequence, conditions associated with discrimination will be remedied. Indeed, many discriminatory conditions are often found to remain, and they include the following:

1. Disproportionately high placement of minority students in special education classes and low-ability groups.
2. Application of discriminatory disciplinary measures to minority students.
3. Discrimination against minority teachers and staff.

Largely in response to such problems, school districts involved in court-ordered school desegregation are more frequently engaging in special ancillary programs which address the various second generation discrimination problems. Among these are revisions of curricula, staff transfers, and community involvement.

Discrimination in Special Education and Ability Grouping

In recent years, it has been suggested that minority students are disproportionately placed in special education classes at all grade levels. Mercer (1971) reviewed the placement of minority students in special education classes in southern California and found that Mexican and black children were overrepresented in special classes for the mentally retarded. The I.Q. test score was the major criterion used for placement, while other factors, such as socioeconomic status and cultural differences, were largely ignored.

When the issue of minority overrepresentation in special classes has been brought into the courts, discussion has typically revolved around whether procedures used to assess mental retardation are appropriate for minority children who have diverse cultural backgrounds (Meyers, Sundstrom & Yoshida, 1975). These cases specifically focus on whether children are denied due process in placement and whether they are denied equal educational opportunity. In one well-known case, Larry P. v. Riles, the plaintiff's case was based on the assertion that although blacks made up 28.5 percent of all students in the San Francisco Unified School District, the educable mentally retarded programs in the district were composed of 66 percent black students. The school district countered that blacks do not do as well educationally due to poverty and poor nutrition, but the court rejected this argument. It was the conclusion of the court that the sole use of intelligence test scores for classification and placement decisions had violated the Fourteenth Amendment rights of the black children. The court consequently ruled against continuation of this practice in the district (Bersoff, 1977). The appropriateness of I.Q. test scores as the basis for placement decisions has been challenged in other cases as well (Covarrubius v. San Diego, 197 Diana v. State Board of Education, 1970).

Ability grouping on the basis of standardized test results tends to resegregate children when used in schools which have been desegregated (Samuda, 1975). Whether this is by design, in response to other conditions, or both, is not the question. Black students score, on the average, about one standard deviation below white

children on standardized achievement tests and aptitude tests (Dreger & Miller, 1960; Findley & Bryan, 1971; Heathers, 1979; Shuey, 1966). This places them at a disadvantage when these tests are used as a convenient and presumably objective basis for ability grouping.

Although many educators and testing authorities advocate grouping on the basis of test scores, this practice has not been clearly demonstrated to have positive effects on minority group students. Findley and Bryan (1971), in a comprehensive review of the effects of ability grouping, concluded that it does not promote scholastic achievement, but it does tend to foster negative attitudes and low expectations among teachers of low ability groups. Ultimately, the most pernicious aspect of ability grouping is that children in low ability groups are usually exposed to an anemic curriculum, rather than to a rigorous program that would enable them to move into the mainstream.

Partly as a function of ability grouping, racially identifiable classrooms can be found in many desegregated schools irrespective of geographical location or other variables. The Southern Regional Council collected data in Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee and found that two-thirds of the school districts studied had at least one school with racially identifiable classrooms (Mills & Bryan, 1976).

Racially Discriminatory Disciplinary Practices

It has been observed subsequent to desegregation in some school districts that minority group students have been subjected to

exceedingly harsh disciplinary practices. In a study by the former Department of Health, Education and Welfare, it was found that disciplinary measures kept minority students out of school longer and more frequently than white students, and that black and other minority students suffered from a rate of expulsion almost twice that of white students (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1975).

These discriminatory disciplinary practices have prompted minority parents to initiate litigation against school districts. In one such case in Dallas, Texas, the basis of the plaintiffs' suit was that of the 10,345 students suspended in Dallas schools in 1971, 5,449 were black. Blacks' disproportionately high rate of suspension was related, according to the Dallas school superintendent, to institutional and personal racism. The court ruled that the disciplinary policies had been applied in a discriminatory manner (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976 b).

Complaints of discriminatory disciplinary practices have also been brought against school districts under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and under the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) of 1973. It is assumed under ESAA that racial discrimination has occurred if a school district suspends or expels minority students at a proportion that is 20 percent higher than the proportion of minority students in the district in general (Bullock, 1978).

One example of the use of these criteria involved the complaint filed against Richland County School District No. 1 in Columbia, South Carolina. After receiving the complaint, HEW examined the school district's disciplinary policies and procedures and conducted personal interviews with students and school personnel. The findings

were that the rate of suspensions for minority students was disproportionately high. It was concluded that administrators and teachers had not been adequately prepared for possible disciplinary problems accompanying desegregation (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976b).

Discriminatory Treatment of Minority Faculty

If school desegregation fails to remedy continued discriminatory treatment of minority faculty, one of the essential criteria for full integration remains unsatisfied. Indeed, adequate minority representation at all levels of the teaching and administrative staff is a necessary component of integrated education. As was observed in a report by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, representation on minorities in positions of responsibility helps to dispel myths about the lack of competence of minority persons for such positions and also provides minority individuals with valuable role models (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights b).

As with other issues concerning educational discrimination, many recent court rulings on school desegregation have involved the representation of minority faculty. While some court orders have mandated that minority teachers be evenly distributed across the school system, other rulings have been related to the proportion of minority residents in the city or the proportion of minority students in the schools. In the landmark Keyes v. School District No. 1 of Denver case, for example, the Supreme Court required the district to recruit black and Hispanic personnel until minority personnel ratios reflected those of black and Hispanic students in the school. Denver responded

with recruitment programs and programs targeted at personnel development, career counseling, and job advancement. Minority staff representation has also been addressed in court-ordered school desegregation plans in Boston, Tampa, and Louisville, among other cities (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976 b).

ESAA guidelines are also related to representation of minority faculty. If, after school desegregation, a district shows a disproportionately high number of dismissals or demotions of minority staff members, the district must offer reinstatement and financial compensation to those who have suffered from the discriminatory practices (Bullock, 1978).

Techniques for Ancillary Relief

We have reviewed only three of the many second generation school desegregation problems. The first involved the placement of minority students in disproportionate numbers in special education classes and low-ability groups; the second was the use of discriminatory discipline standards and procedures with minority students; and the third was discrimination against minority teachers and other staff members.

Several techniques have been used either in anticipation of the development of these problems or in response to a mandate from the courts. These techniques, referred to collectively as ancillary techniques, have involved such procedures as curriculum revision, inservice training, staff transfer, and community involvement.

It will perhaps be useful to consider some examples of cities which have used these techniques either singly or in combination.

In the Hillsborough County, Florida, School District, the ancillary techniques included racial desegregation of staff (from administrative levels to support staff) and special training for personnel. There have apparently been some measurable benefits. Assistant Superintendent E. Luttrell Bing reported that both black and white student achievement scores increased significantly. Prior to desegregation, white students' achievement scores were well below national norms and black students' were even lower. After desegregation and the ancillary efforts that accompanied pupil reassignment, both groups of students were about at the national norms in achievement (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976c).

Bing also reported that the human relations training of teachers, students, and parents tended to lower tensions and apprehensions. The district found it necessary to establish a vigorous recruiting program to raise the ratio of minorities on the staff to the level mandated by the court (National Institute of Education, 1977).

In Williamsburg, South Carolina, the ancillary techniques included individualizing teaching methods, instituting courses about black culture, providing human relations training for staff, and achieving staff desegregation. There is some evidence that the consequences included improvement in attendance records and dropout rates (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1977). In the Berkeley, California, Unified School District, higher achievement scores were obtained by both black and white students after desegregation. This may be associated with the use of multicultural curriculum materials and workshops in multicultural education (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976a).

An example of ancillary programs at the classroom level is the use of cooperative learning teams in the Baltimore, Maryland, Public Schools. There, bi-racial learning teams composed of high achievers, low achievers, and average achievers competed with similar groups by accumulating point totals for their teams through the demonstration of mastery of subject matter on quizzes. Since each individual member of the team contributed points to the team's total, cooperation among team members was essential. This interracial cooperation resulted in better achievement rates by both white and black children in the program when compared with their counterparts in regular classrooms (Slavin, 1977).

Community involvement is illustrated in Charlotte-Mecklenberg, North Carolina, where, during the "Year of the Community," several community involvement innovations were established (National Institute of Education, 1977). Mini-school boards for each school were instituted, curriculum councils and speakers' bureaus were established, and 10,000 volunteers were recruited for service to the school system.

The use of blue ribbon committees to marshal support for desegregation is illustrated in Dallas, Texas. Businessmen, political leaders, and professional leaders formed the Dallas Alliance and gathered citizen support for the desegregation plan by means of films and advertising and by working out arrangements for coverage with local media (Trombley, 1977). While the Alliance can be credited for facilitating peaceful implementation of the desegregation plan, its major shortcoming was its participation in developing a plan which failed to meet children's

educational needs. The Dallas group illustrates the ability of local leaders to promote a plan, but it also suggests some of the limits of such groups in adequately addressing educational issues.

A THIRD GENERATION OF ISSUES

While the ancillary programs noted above are representative of second generation school desegregation problems, it has become necessary to proceed to a new level of third generation issues. First generation issues were concerned with legal definitions and basic processes of desegregation, and second generation issues were generally concerned with achieving integration in desegregated schools. The third generation of issues is a multi-faceted genre defined by the concerns of professions whose members are in various ways affiliated with school desegregation. One such profession is educational research, whose practitioners are generally interested in educational quality.

To the extent that educational research is concerned with issues of school quality, the line of research followed by school desegregation researchers over the years might add an interesting dimension to the educational quality issue. Although, as St. John (1975) has observed, desegregation research has not typically involved programs concerned with the quality of education, the essential phenomena they have studied might be of much interest to other educational researchers. Desegregation research has studied the effect of extremely powerful and large-scale treatments on large segments of school districts. Many

studies of desegregation have been guided by the notion that educational processes are best understood by changing the schools and observing the effects of those changes. Therefore, educational researchers in general might be attracted to the phenomenon of a large-scale educational quasi-experiment as much as they are to the nature of the desegregation treatment itself. The experimental approach, involving large-scale ecological dimensions of the educational system, is not an entirely uncharted section of the educational research universe. Bronfenbrenner (1976) has described an ecological framework for educational research that defines what is educationally relevant in a nested arrangement of environmental systems and involves experimentation to transform the relationships among those systems.

In this radical notion there lies the possibility of gaining a fundamental understanding of educational institutions by transforming them profoundly. Thus far, one of the few such transforming experiments whose results can be seen on a large scale is school desegregation. We have some evidence relative to the extent to which children can realize their potentials in this type of ecological experiment, but there is little evidence concerning the possible results of other ecological experiments of similar magnitude.

In addition to educational researchers, other professionals are also interested in school desegregation, and these other interests should be served with equal seriousness. Not only is it possible for research on school desegregation to address needs of individuals in other professions, it is also possible that the interests of the

educational research and social science communities in general might overlap with those of the other professions. The notion that desegregation research could be responsive to a wide range of professional constituencies served as the impetus for the staff at the College of Urban Development at Michigan State University to conduct the three desegregation symposia. It was thought that a research agenda for the study of educational desegregation policy issues should not be determined solely on the basis of the social scientist's conception of worthwhile, researchable issues. Indeed, if research on desegregation is to provide knowledge which can be applied by all who mandate, implement, or evaluate desegregation plans, it is necessary that those who participate in the desegregation process add questions to the research agenda.

Even before the symposia were convened, there was evidence that other professional constituencies interested in the desegregation process had a number of concerns and general interests which might be profitably addressed by social science researchers. These concerns were solicited from participants before the symposia began. Some participants responded in great detail, and their comments are contained in the sections which immediately follow.

Views of Media Personnel

Before the symposium in which they participated began, many media representatives considered the possible value of establishing a new research agenda for school desegregation. Alexis Scott Reeves, of the Atlanta Journal/Atlanta Constitution, pointed out that most newspaper articles focus on court orders or specific events, usually

conflicts between the races, after desegregation has been ordered. There are seldom enough news stories which examine the effects of desegregation on the students--both black and white. Instead the stories feature statistics, which are easier to obtain. Ms. Reeves expressed an interest in the interaction of the students; how they feel about the desegregated school; how they feel about each other; their reactions to the means of desegregation, such as busing, pairing, or magnet schools; how the parents and teachers deal with desegregated education, and if they feel it has changed the quality of education; and, if it can be determined, how the reporting of desegregation in a certain community affects the process and the community's reaction to it.

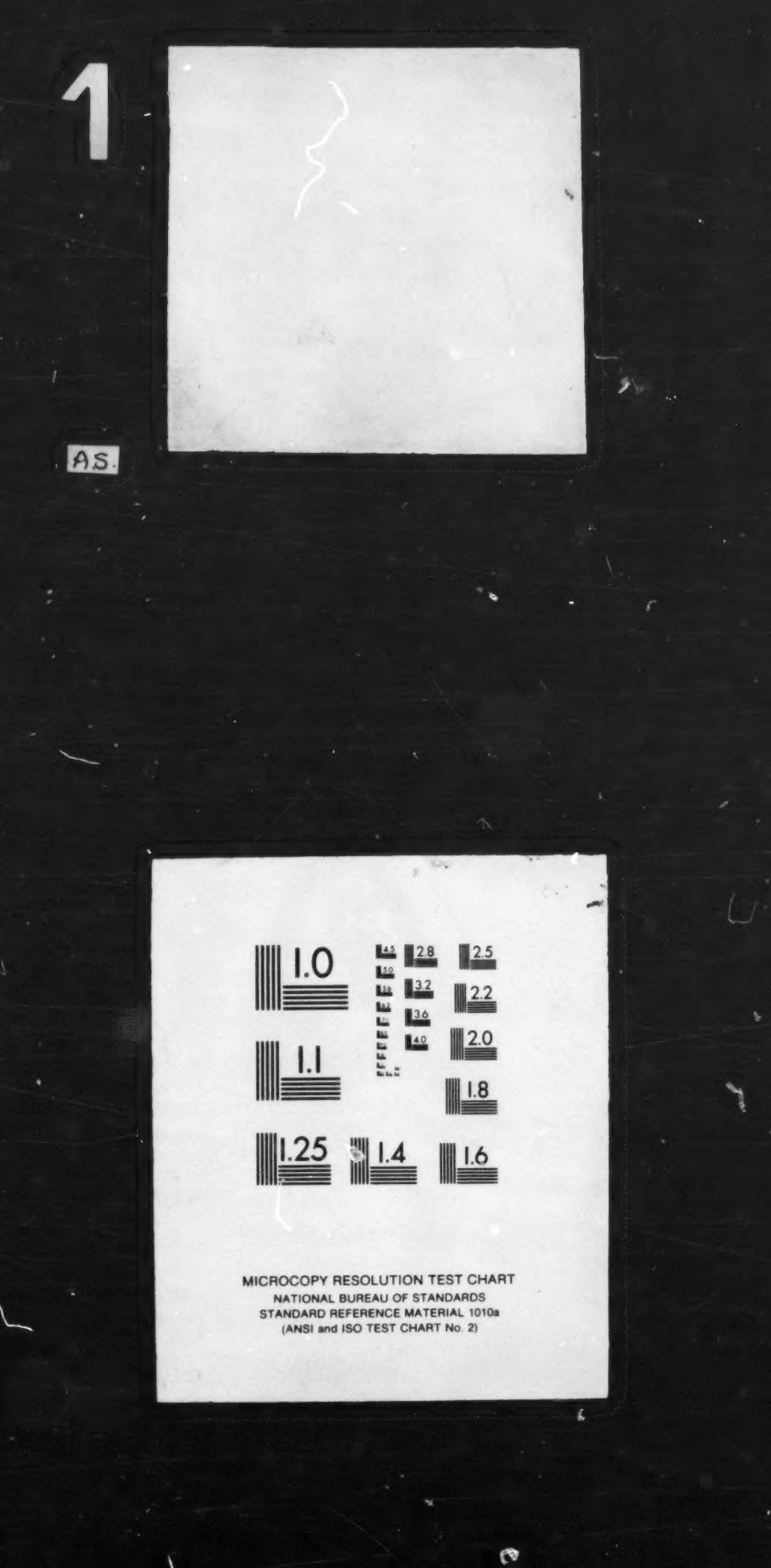
She also indicated that it would be helpful to know how much education coverage, in general, is desired by readers, and how many are interested in various types of education issues--desegregation or otherwise. It would also be interesting to see what priority readers give to reading stories about education and its effect on the community, she concluded.

Leonard Pardue, managing editor of the Louisville Times, submitted a lengthy list of interests and concerns. He saw a need for systematic research comparing, separately, academic achievement and attitudes in segregated and desegregated school systems. He suggested that this research should be long-term -- perhaps following a class through its school career in both types of systems. Other research topics he suggested were changes in social attitudes associated with desegregation; the possible importance of a mixture of economic backgrounds on academic achievement; white flight as a possible consequence of

school desegregation; and the reaction of business to school desegregation. Specifically, Mr. Pardue wondered whether desegregation might erode the tax base of desegregated systems, contribute to the layoff of teachers, force the curtailment of educational programs, or have a tangible impact on the business community, perhaps with respect to decisions about expansion and relocation.

He noted that for the purposes of local journalism, the more local the research, the better. Mr. Pardue suggested the possibility of periodic monitoring of local attitudes to discover where parents and children get their information about what goes on in the schools during desegregation, the extent to which their sources are perceived as accurate and reliable, and whether there is any information they wish to have but are not able to get. The public's reaction to newspaper editorials would also be of interest, as would be some knowledge concerning the degree to which the editorials affected the credibility of news reporting in general.

William Grant, currently on leave from the Detroit Free Press and a fellow of the Neiman Foundation at Harvard University, expressed the opinion that although school desegregation has attracted much research, very little of it is of high quality. He suggested the need for long-range research on school desegregation, extending well beyond a period of a few short months, or even a few years. Practical research about the kinds of approaches that work and those that fail were high on his list of interests. Although he expressed doubt that the media has any significant effect on the desegregation process, he stated that he would be interested in examining what the evidence might indicate in this regard. Also of concern was research which would help the media make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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

decisions about its conduct during desegregation.

State Policy Makers' Views

Prior to the symposium in which he participated, Joseph M. Cronin, Illinois State School Superintendent, submitted lengthy and thoughtful reflections. He noted that although policy-makers and the Congress may assume that desegregation is primarily a local responsibility, states have taken a increasingly more active role in desegregation planning. The new state role differs sharply from the uncooperative/ hostile and even confrontative response of Southern states in the late 1950s and 1960s. Federal civil rights officials then assumed correctly that state officials were "part of the problem," and the most typical solutions included by passing or neutralizing state authorities.

Since about 1965 some states have assumed a more positive and even activist stance toward school desegregation. For almost twenty years the New York Commissioners of Education have issued desegregation orders by virtue of the unusual quasi-judicial power vested in the Board of Regents and Office of the Commissioner. Massachusetts enacted a Racial Imbalance Law in 1965 which directed state officials to require local school committees to eliminate racial concentrations of more than 50 percent minorities in any school. New Jersey, Connecticut, and Illinois are among states whose State Education Commissioners or Superintendents have aggressively promoted desegregation. A Stanford Research Institute study of state-level desegregation activity concluded that as many as eight to ten states could be trusted to work cooperatively in allocating Emergency School Assistance Funds to desegregating districts.

A second group of states have been told by judges to assist local school districts with desegregation plans and finances. A federal judge in the late 1970s chided the Ohio Board of Education for ostrich-like behavior in ignoring the growing racial separation in cities such as Cleveland. The Ohio State Education Agency, then ordered to help design the desegregation remedy, now actively reaches out to help city school districts desegregate. A federal judge in Michigan directed that state to assume a share of the Detroit desegregation costs including the extra compensatory education which was part of the remedy. The Wisconsin legislature voluntarily paid for much of the cost for Milwaukee's magnet schools and for suburban two-way voluntary desegregation.

These changes in state-local desegregation planning raised a number of resource issues:

What is the state's role in desegregation planning? Under federal law, do states have an enforcement role or must a state statute be enacted? Federal statutes require state and local officials to sign assistance to non-discrimination clauses to obtain many federal grants. Congress appropriates funds for race and sex desegregation. What happens when federal and state standards for desegregation differ? Should federal officials proceed with enforcement strategies independent of state authorities or with those authorities? Or should an agreement be devised with each state on how to proceed?

Who pays for desegregation remedies when ordered by federal courts? Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Ohio are among the states which have appropriated funds over the above federal and local dollars for desegregation. How much of the cost should properly be

assumed by the state? Should there be an "excess" or additional cost provision? How might desegregation assistance blend with the State Aid Formula or with categorical aids such as state payments for school bus transportation? Are most state legislatures reluctant to pay for "busing," and is it more likely that judges must order the state to assume a fair share of the costs?

What should states do to promote school district consolidation or regional collaboration? Metro desegregation remedies have been easier to achieve in the South where, except for certain city school districts, the county level often is the "local" level. Have the Hartford, Rochester, Boston, and Milwaukee voluntary city-suburban remedies been effective in desegregating more than a fraction of the minorities in those states? What can be concluded from a dozen years of trial and error and experimentation with both court-ordered and legislated reorganizations? To what extent do states need or have adequate policy forbidding territorial detachments or de-annexations from desegregating school districts?

What have states done or could they do to cushion desegregating school districts against enrollment decline? Several states have enacted new school aid formulas which allow "averaging" of several years of enrollment so as to cushion the school district against the withdrawal of substantial sums of state aid.

Other states have liberalized teacher retirement laws so as to ease the plight of older teachers who then can retire earlier to prevent reductions in force from destroying the plans of the 1970s for

affirmative action on minority recruitment. At least one state, Iowa, has passed a law saying that no district can get state aid for a new school building without checking to see whether a nearby district has and empty one to use instead. Many mature suburbs have had empty classrooms and school buildings a few miles from a city with overcrowded schools serving a minority race. What incentives could a state devise to promote the sharing of students and space? Or, again, does it usually require a court order to compel a high income city and a low income minority community to share resources?

Since 1975 new issues complicate the state role in providing for desegregation:

What are the responsibilities of the state for protecting the educationally handicapped children of minority races? Several state agencies now are assisting school districts where the number of minority children in classes for the retarded exceeds the school district minority percentage by as much as 100 percent. Is this racism or simple overreliance on test scores or a judgment about language deficiencies? How can states reduce the number of minority students, many black and many Hispanic, placed in classes for retarded or trainable children? How many are improperly screened and placed there? Can they be "mainstreamed" out, and with what help by school professionals? Also, is it racially fair to make educationally handicapped students take a required graduation test or minimal competency exam? A judge in Florida ruled that more time (four years) must elapse before a state could require graduates of a desegregated school to take such a test

since presumably the ill-effects of racial segregation do not wash away in a few months.

What should states do to make sure that desegregation and compensatory education programs reinforce each other rather than conflict? Several state officials point out that to receive maximum funds for disadvantaged students, states must ask local districts to target those dollars and programs to schools with concentrations of disadvantaged students. Desegregation policy tends to encourage dispersal of students by race and, where possible, by socio-economic status to give students a fair chance to compete. Which value should prevail? Can money "follow the child" from a concentrated school to a desegregated setting where the remedial program may be all the more urgent?

How should states deal with conflicts between desegregation and bilingual education? An HEW "feasibility study" of Chicago school desegregation outraged the Hispanic community because of the disproportionate effect on their schools and the possible loss of access to bilingual education programs. Again, several states have sponsored programs for bilingual populations. Some court-ordered plans have in effect broken up successful bilingual programs. On the other hand, do bilingual parents have any more right to a neighborhood one-race school than white ethnic parents? This issue already has engendered serious debate between those who would preserve cultural pluralism and those who wish that schools would mirror the racial mix of the entire city or community. What whould state policies be? How can desegregation proceed with proper safeguards for bilingual programs?

Will state-imposed revenue limits on tax caps (maximums) impede or destroy school desegregation efforts? What effect will Proposition 13 (California) and other tax limits have on communities experiencing school desegregation? If desegregation costs more than an allowable average of increased taxation each year, must a judge provide a waiver or exemption? How will states reconcile the taxpayers rebellion with the civil rights movement and constitutional requirements to eliminate racially identifiable and intentionally segregated schools? What impact has Proposition 13 had on the several desegregating California school districts? Have other states found palatable alternatives, ones that allowed no damaging losses of dollars at such a critical time as during desegregation?

How might state housing policies be redesigned to support school desegregation? City school desegregation efforts have been impeded by the concentrations of low income minorities in large public housing projects. To what extent can these populations be dispersed over periods of five, ten, and twenty years? Can admissions and recruitment patterns be modified? Can some facilities be converted to other uses? How effective will scattered-site and rent or purchase subsidy programs be by 1985 or 1990? Can new strategies be adopted to persuade the suburbs to assume greater responsibility?

These and other issues trouble both local and state education administrators, especially in states such as Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, California, and New York with substantial populations of school age children yet to be desegregated. States increasingly offer from 40 to 80 percent of the total dollars available for school costs. Some state boards of education now sense a need to plan for

desegregation. State officials today are more likely to consider positive approaches to desegregation. In fact, a number of the chief state school officers in Southern states have risen from the ranks of those local superintendents who successfully desegregated schools under the court orders of the 1960s. A growing number of states are willing to play a partnership role in solving the desegregation problems of the 1980s; presumably, the research agenda might include the state-local relationship and the conditions under which state aid can make desegregated education possible.

Local Policy Makers' Views

While policy is made and implemented at the state level, it is, of course, equally central to the operation of the local school district. Before the symposium in which they participated was convened, some local school superintendents expressed their interests related to their roles in school desegregation.

David De Russo, chief deputy superintendent of the Jefferson County, Kentucky, Public Schools posed four major interests in the form of questions:

1. What is the extent of the commitment in America to integrate its schools racially, economically, and socially?

2. What has the business and professional community in large urban/suburban areas done to prepare its leaders and future leaders to seek a joint partnership with business and governmental and community agencies in overcoming the problems of integrating schools, housing, and other public institutions?

3. What is the extent of previous research efforts to find out the effects of desegregation on the graduates (and dropouts) of our schools systems?

4. What do the legislators, economists, social scientists and educators believe are the alternatives to the current school desegregation requirements, and is there reason to prepare for a radical change in the public education enterprise?

De Russo asserted that the public schools and other appropriate public and private institutions need to begin now to prepare for a different type of public school system of the future. The court mandates for desegregating school systems have been reasonably successful. Without these mandates, we could not have integrated our schools to the degree we have during the last decade.

He also observed that more research which compares "achievement of students" with pre- and post-desegregation results is not the answer. Research about people, their accomplishments and failures as a result of going to desegregated schools and living in an integrated society, should give us the historical framework to develop hypotheses about the future.

In another detailed statement submitted prior to the policy makers' symposium, James Hawkins, superintendent of the Benton Harbor, Michigan, Schools expressed interests and concerns. Among them were the identification of criteria for effective court-ordered desegregation; establishing standards or a formula by which desegregation is related to quality education; designing desegregation programs to improve the quality of instruction; organizing the curriculum and guidance services to improve behavior, readjustment, and achievement; alleviating interpersonal and intergroup problems among black and white students, parents and teachers; the abolition of the myths that desegregation is expensive, that it produces violence, and that it negatively affects student achievement; and promoting parent

involvement. Factors of special concern were identified as community support, the communication network, and dissemination of information to the public. Mr. Hawkins also recommended that a study be made of the effect of desegregation upon employee contracts or master agreements, especially in a case of consolidation where each district has its own contract and the establishment of a new district means negotiating a new contract for a new district. Each group of employees-teachers, secretaries, custodians, bus drivers, food service workers, teacher aides, etc. -- would need to go through this time-consuming and expensive process. Additional concerns involved the impact of a totally new transportation system on staff, students, parents, and the board; the task of assisting teachers, students, administrators, and support personnel in preparing for desegregation; and the effort to prevent resegregation through wise funding, counseling, and proper instructional patterns.

The Perspective of Judges

Since 1954 the courts have played a major role in school desegregation policy. Each year decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court create headlines as the actions of the lower courts in desegregation cases are reviewed. Traditionally, the issues brought before judges have required legal research into precedents and points of law. Legal scholarship differs substantially from social research in substance, style, and process. However, the landmark Brown case in 1954 was decided to some extent on the basis of social science research brought before the courts. Moreover, if there is a trend with respect to the use of social science evidence by courts, it is that courts will rely increasingly on

it in the future. One particular way in which this will occur is through the need to document intentional segregatory practices by school districts. The best evidence for such intentional discriminating practices often lies in school board decisions on pupil transfer policies, pupil assignments, location of new buildings, and changes in school boundaries over time. Clearly, there is a need for research, usually conducted by social scientists, with respect to the possible existence of these policies and procedures.

Illinois State School Superintendent Joseph Cronin reflected at length about the concerns of judges. He noted that in recent years, some judges have been intensely interested in the debate over alleged negative effects of desegregation decisions. Some researchers have blamed the courts for "white flight," while others point to entirely different factors, such as federal highway and housing policies and the long-standing desire of city-dwellers for more land and privacy. Judges may need to know more about the conditions under which problems develop and about the various remedies which are either consistent with or contrary to the results intended.

Courts are aware of the controversy over the effect of magnet schools as voluntary measures or within the framework of a compulsory reassignment remedy. Perhaps judges would be interested in how well or how poorly various programs of pupil or parental choice actually work.

Courts in desegregation cases have sometime found it necessary to appoint special masters or monitoring committees to review the actual implementation of decisions. The design of desegregation plans is a

very technical process and frequently requires university or specialty consultants. Dronin suggested that research could help clarify how the design, monitoring, and evaluation stages are handled and which features work under what circumstances.

Judges in desegregation cases often must retain jurisdiction over specific cases for a period of years, sometimes ten or more. How does a judge decide to relinquish a case or declare it "closed"? Under what circumstances does a case, such as the original Topeka case, deserve to be reopened? The Pasadena case provided the basis for some advice regarding the too frequent revision of boundary lines and attendance patterns. How has this decision worked in practice? What oversight and supervisory precedures are appropriate to "case management"? Should other bodies--e.g., federal or state agencies--assume some of these responsibilities?

Research on segregation and changing demographics may also be useful to judges who retain jurisdictions over cases for extended periods of time. There remain unsolved a series of questions such as how many racially identifiable schools can remain in place over time, how financial solutions can best function, and how can the burdens of desegregation be made to fall equitably on the several races.

Benjamin F. Gibson, United States district judge in Grand Rapids, suggested prior to the symposium in which he participated that the most pressing question which needs an answer in this area is how to implement school desegregation where the entire school district consists of minority students. It is difficult to integrate a school system which does not have a population which is representative of

the population as a whole. It was his belief that if a satisfactory answer to this question is achieved, it would facilitate the complete integration of the nation's school systems.

The Perspective of Attorneys

Attorneys are participants in the same complicated arena as judges and require both legal and social science evidence. Since they prepare and present this evidence to the court, they must keep abreast of current significant social science research as well as legal events.

Prior to the symposium in which they participated, many attorneys reported that it would be in their best interest to understand a wide range of topics, including the effects of desegregation on achievement, whether the outcomes of desegregation are a function of the voluntary or involuntary methods of desegregation, the effects of desegregation on housing patterns on a metropolitan scale, and whether social attitudes have changed consequent to and surrounding desegregation. Paul Dimond, an attorney from Ann Arbor who has long been active in school desegregation litigation, reflected at length on the following issues that he believed needed to be addressed.

In communities with area-wide plans of school desegregation, have federal, state, and local officials and private persons and businesses worked with school officials in the development of genuinely integrated learning, living, and work environments? Has there been any decrease in residential segregation? What actions, public and private, in addition to area-wide school desegregation, could be taken to reverse the historic process in metropolitan

development of black ghettoization and white protection in the location of industry, commerce, and wealth, and in the distribution of housing by race? What role could local business, labor, and civic leaders play in supporting the implementation of area-wide school desegregation plans and in promoting the integration of formerly all-white and all-black residential neighborhoods? How could the flow of federal and state funds and incentives be creatively administered to eliminate the historic "color line" in housing and community development in conjunction with area-wide school desegregation plans? To what extent do area-wide plans of school desegregation eliminate one of the historic factors in family choice of housing on a racial basis? To what extent have black families and teachers assigned to formerly white schools moved near the new schools? To what extent have white families and teachers assigned to formerly black schools moved near the new schools? To what extent can school desegregation plans encourage such "majority to minority" residential moves? To what extent do area-wide school desegregation plans involve greater or fewer parents in school-community action, and greater or fewer students in extra-curricular activities, job programs, and entrance into higher education?

To what extent do programs of "ancillary relief" actually eliminate second generation discrimination problems in desegregated schools? How can education be effectively provided to all students on a multi-racial basis within integrated classes rather than through various groupings or tracks that tend to resegregate the students on a racial basis? How can school desegregation plans be designed and administered to overcome a community custom of segregation in

schools, housing, jobs, etc.? To what extent is such a community custom, supported and sanctioned by public authority and historic caste, responsible for existing school (and housing) segregation? What is the nature and the extent of the causal interaction between intentional segregation of (a) schools and (b) housing and community life?

In the development of the pupil assignment plan, have the interests of the minority been outweighed by white fears over assignment to the formerly black schools, particularly at the early elementary and high school levels? How can the plan for pupil assignment avoid catering to the white majority by insuring that both groups fairly share any "burdens" of reassignment and reorganization of grade sturctures? What are the specific statistical patterns by race, by classroom, and by building in the assignment to (or "choice of") various educational programs and curricula (e.g., tracks, special education, vocational-technical courses)? What are the specific statistical patterns by race and by building in (a) the administration of discipline, (b) the participation in extracurricular activities, (c) educational achievement and advancement as measured by standardized tests, teacher evaluations, and entry into higher education and jobs? What techniques, programs, and administrative directions are available to provide for effective schooling, discipline, extracurricular activity, learning, and advancement to higher education on a multi-racial, genuinely integrated basis? What remedial actions can be taken to insure (a) fair, two-way pupil and staff desegregation, (b) racial respect and diversity in multi-racial classes and curriculum, and

(c) high expectations and programs for all of the school children in desegregating schools and communities?

How can the development programs, funding incentives, and enforcement activities of HUD, DOT, Commerce, Treasury, and HEW (and similar state agancies) be coordinated to build on the potential of school desegregation plans to eliminate (rather than continue to subsidize) segregation in housing, in the location of industry and jobs, and in other aspects of community life?

On the basis of the following premise, Mr. Dimond posed a number of other questions: If the national policy were to replace America's protected white enclaves and isolated minority ghettoes by truly integrated living, learning, and work patterns over the next decade:

1. What public and private strategies, programs, incentives, sanctions and initiatives would fairly, equitably, and efficiently achieve this goal?

2. Can such strategies be developed and implemented to strengthen rather than weaken the country's tempered traditions of federalism, localism, freedom, and free enterprise?

3. What types of cooperation and coordination of government (federal, state, and local), business, labor, community, and family will be required?

4. What types of programs and initiatives could help to achieve a genuinely integrated society--with respect for cultural diversity and individual character in the neighborhood, school, and work place--in contrast to the subjugation of the racial minority in mixed rather than segregated settings?

5. What types of integration strategies will be responsive to the major technological, economic, energy, environmental, international and/or non-racial social challenges and changes that may confront the nation in the years ahead?

6. What types of coalitions and direct action movements (neighborhood, regional and/or national) could help to implement or generate support for such a national policy?

7. What types of federal and state administrative, legislative, and judicial actions would promote such a national policy?

Another Attorney-participant, William Taylor, Director of the Center for National Policy Review, also submitted a number of major concerns and questions before the symposium began. His interests were as follows:

Research on the "non-cognitive" aspects of desegregation. Most of the studies of desegregation effects have focused on achievement scores. Yet, regardless of gains on achievement tests, desegregation may facilitate mobility by providing minority students with access to better colleges or better jobs. The networking or channeling processes that lead to such mobility are often acknowledged but rarely studied because they are not easily quantified. Yet it would be useful to know, from existing longitudinal data, if possible, whether desegregation is associated with improved mobility for minority students and to examine the factors that may be important in this process.

Research on the circumstances under which school desegregation may foster residential integration or other improvements in race relations. Case studies which include a focus on techniques which may foster this positive relationship would be useful.

Research on the kind of curriculum revision that should accompany desegregation to make schools more responsive to the needs of all students. Review of curriculum has become a familiar component of Milliken II relief, but there has been little systematic examination of the types of curriculum changes that may be most effective. This could provide a useful body of information to school districts implementing such remedies.

Lino A. Graglia, A Professor of Law at the University of Texas at Austin, based his comments on the premise that the major problem is not desegregation, but, instead, compulsory integration, which he defined as the attempt to make schools more integrated than the neighborhoods in which students live.

He considered the most interesting question to be why some government agencies, courts, and private organizations fight for compulsory integration. He asserted that there is little evidence that it increases educational opportunity or improves race relations, and that it may actually disserve these goals. Most important, he claimed, was the failure of the policy of compulsory integration to accomplish even the immediate objective of increasing school racial integration. The essence of his questions related to identifying the reasons for pursuing what he assumed to be a self-defeating practice.

In addition, he saw merit in compiling detailed city-by-city statistics on the cost of attempting to compel school racial integration. He also invited research on the impact of court-ordered busing on the attitudes of affected people toward judges, courts, and the law, and its impact on American citizens' perception of the degree to which they control their government, their laws, and their lives.

Finally, he recommended a study of why a policy that is so strongly opposed by what he referred to as the "majority of the people" continues to be implemented.

In their pre-symposia comments, all of the participants expressed interest in whatever research could be conducted to enhance their effectiveness in their professional roles. Apparently, the underlying assumptions which led to the planning of the symposia were accurate.

THE RESEARCH AGENDA SYMPOSIA

In the period from January to June, 1980, three school desegregation research agenda symposia were convened at Michigan State University. Participants in the first symposium were representatives of the media, as shown in Attachment A. Before they arrived at Michigan State University for the symposium, they received from our staff a detailed statement of the purpose of the symposium along with a request that they address themselves specifically to a set of questions intended to probe their thinking about the need for new research questions in desegregation. The questions which they were asked to consider before attending the conference are shown in Attachment B.

The second symposium was designed for school administrators and school board members (policy makers), and the third was planned for attorneys and judges who have had substantial experience in the area of school desegregation. The participants in the second and third symposia are shown in Attachments C and E, respectively. Again, participants in each of these symposia were asked to consider, prior to arrival in East Lansing, some basic questions intended to stimulate their thinking about the need for new types of school desegregation research. Questions posed to policy makers and to attorneys and judges are shown in Attachments D and F, respectively. The specific rationales for the three symposia were as follows:

1. Research Recommended by Media Representatives. Public perception of desegregation of public schools can have a profound effect on both the structure and the effectiveness of

a desegregation plan. Newspaper reporters and representatives of the electronic media are interested in communication to the public in meaningful and interesting ways. Little research has been conducted, however, to provide information that would increase the media's understanding of the desegregation process and its role in helping the public to understand that process. This symposium should result in a list of topics and techniques which media representatives might find especially appropriate.

2. Research Recommended by Policy Makers. The airing of issues surrounding direct policy judgments in educational desegregation could provide a foundation for establishing a research agenda to obtain information useful in making sound decisions. Involved in this seminar would be persons in policy/decision making positions, such as superintendents and school board members from districts which are under court-mandated plans as well as from districts which are implementing plans under their own initiative; representatives of state and federal educational agencies which fund educational programs; and consultants from General Assistance Centers who provide aide in crisis situations.

3. Research Recommended by Attorneys and Judges. Many educational policies are mandated by courts in the course of rulings on desegregation. Since these decisions are made on legalistic grounds and are based on proposals submitted by lawyers, school desegregation research could specifically address questions regarding good educational practice for which attorneys and judges need information. A seminar of lawyers and jurists who have been

involved in desegregation litigation could be convened, the purpose of which would be to formulate a relevant research agenda.

After each of the three symposia, the complete taped proceedings were transcribed. Then members of the project staff reviewed the typed transcripts to extract the questions which symposium participants proposed for research. Complete lists of research questions proposed by (1) media personnel, (2) policy makers, and (3) attorneys and judges appear in Attachments G, H, and I, respectively.

One of the obvious characteristics of these three lists of research questions is that they overlap in many ways. There is clearly a substantial degree of common interest and concern among attorneys, judges, policy makers, and representatives of the media. Moreover, these common interests exist with respect to both process and outcome questions. The degree to which the interests appeared to be common across all three symposia is reflected in the list of common issues, shown in Attachment J.

On the other hand, in each symposium some unique interests were indicated, and these are shown in Attachment K.

TOWARD A RESEARCH AGENDA

It is likely that much of the extant research on school desegregation has gone unnoticed by many professionals in other disciplines. This may be because these individuals do not have easy access to this research, even such standard references as Crain and Mahard (1977); Orfield (1978); St. John *1975); Stephan & Feagin (1980), and Weinberg (1977). These works are well-known among social scientists, and perhaps they should be

brought to the attention of other professionals. It is likely, however, that even if the standard reference works on school desegregation could be made available to other professionals, such works might be perceived as insufficient for dealing with unique and perhaps even idiosyncratic concerns. Thus, the standard references would need to be supplemented by additional research, and this relates to the utility of the research questions generated in the research symposia. While it is obvious that a large number of research questions have been generated by the participants in the three symposia, research questions alone do not constitute a research agenda. Setting an agenda implies a process of evaluating, ordering, and setting priorities. Developing a research agenda on these grounds is, of course, feasible, but may intrude into the process elements of bias and subjectivity.

In view of the possibility of author bias, it may be appropriate to accept as important that which the symposia participants thought to be important. Therefore, the issues judged to be of greatest importance may be inferred to be those shared by the majority of participants, as shown in Attachment J.

One way in which the training and experience of social scientists contribute to the development of a research agenda in this project is by assessing the likelihood that meaningful research could be conducted on the various questions. Not all questions are researchable, others may be potentially researchable if made sufficiently precise and translated into operationally defined terms.

Rather than to attempt an evaluation of the degree to which each of the dozens of research questions listed here is researchable, it might be appropriate to assess the categories of questions, as listed in

Attachment J.

The quality of education is becoming central to the design of desegregation plans as ancillary programs come to play more and more influential roles. Nevertheless, the term "quality education" is sufficiently ambiguous as to mean almost anything to anyone. Indeed, it may be viewed almost as a projective test. Thus, if educational quality is to have any practical value as a concept in school desegregation research, it will need to be limited to those situations in which the concept is operationally defined in advance.

The processes involved with school desegregation can be described either generally or in terms of unique case studies. As implied in some of the research questions, there is much interest in generalities, particularly with respect to the commonalities of plans that have been implemented smoothly and to the common characteristics of ancillary programs that have effectively contributed to the success of desegregation. Research on these issues could involve the collection of new data on specific sites or the reanalysis and integration of existing data.

The resegregation issue is one of the aspects of the desegregation process, since it is often linked to specific policies and practices adopted by the school district. A useful and feasible research effort would involve the integration of information from several case studies toward generalities that would describe the conditions and practices that are usually associated with resegregation.

Ancillary relief is another area in which secondary analysis and integration of existing data might be feasible. The findings of research designed to describe current ancillary programs might prove useful to school districts involved in planning for desegregation and to attorneys and judges involved in the legal aspects of ancillary programs.

Among the issues which could be dealt with is the way in which curriculum might be revised in the context of school desegregation. Research sites now exist that would permit the relatively straightforward comparison of the effects of certain curricula against others. For example, the effects of instituting a mastery curriculum along with a desegregation program could be compared with other situations in which no such curriculum was instituted. In cases where pretreatment data are available, the essential conditions for a good quasi-experimental study would be present.

The desegregation-achievement relationship already has been accorded a great deal of attention. New research in this area might have a different focus. Novel criterion variables for defining achievement may be of interest, and the studies would probably be more valuable if they described the long-term effects of desegregation on student achievement. The popularity of short-term studies of the relationship between desegregation and achievement is partly attributable to the ease of collecting standardized test data for a small group of students over a short time interval.

While the desegregation-achievement relationship has virtually defined the paradigm of outcome-oriented desegregation research, it would be both feasible and appropriate to extend this paradigm to other outcomes of the type listed by symposium participants. Among these outcomes are attitudes to desegregation, especially among populations about which no data yet exist; the effect of desegregation on school staffs; the effect of desegregation on the community, especially vis a vis the educational system; and the effect of desegregation on the level of school violence. A cautionary note is in order, however. Some data exist now on virtually all of these outcome variables, but these data do not necessarily represent objective

scientific research outcomes. The media has amplified the violence angle, for example, as well as the ways in which desegregation may have affected the community. Particularly prominent in the media's coverage have been accounts of public opposition to busing/desegregation, another category of questions raised by symposium participants. Objective research could be conducted on these issues, but it would depend on the availability of objective data. There may be a problem, for example, in such areas as school staff reactions to desegregation. Teachers and other staff members will not be willing to express negative opinions, or perhaps any opinions, if they perceive that their jobs might be placed in jeopardy as a result.

There appears to be sufficient interest as well as feasibility associated with an effort at large-scale opinion and attitude surveys of the general population. The purpose of such surveys would be to investigate other areas such as different definitions of desegregation, proposed alternatives to busing, and demographically-based phenomena. But in addition to large-scale general surveys, it would be desirable to survey members of specific groups, such as school boards, foreign language minorities, teacher's professional organizations and others that may have special concerns relative to the processes and outcomes of desegregation. The feasibility of such special group surveys would depend upon whether members of these groups are amenable to expressing their opinions.

Most of the possible areas of future research have in common a general methodological orientation. In most cases, the data would be obtained by questionnaire. Since data collected by questionnaire must involve informed consent procedures, all respondents are volunteers, regardless of whether random sampling procedures are used. In effect, this calls

into question the representativeness of many of the samples which might be used in the desegregation research of the future, perhaps limiting its usefulness. In the future, researchers should make sure to ask the right people the right questions. The staff of the College of Urban Development hopes that these symposia helped to define some of the right questions. Now it is a matter of asking the right people, and this, after all, is the essence of conducting research.

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Attachment A

PARTICIPANTS

School Desegregation Research

Agenda Symposium For Media Personnel

Jan. 31 - Feb. 2, 1980

Ms. Muriel Cohen, Reporter
Boston Globe
Boston, MA

Mr. Art Branscombe, Reporter
Denver Post
Denver, CO

Mr. William R. Grant, Fellow
Neiman Foundation, Harvard University
Cambridge, MA
(On leave from the Detroit Free Press, Detroit, MI: Reporter.)

Ms. Cathy Dalglish, Reporter
KSTV-TV
Minneapolis, MN
(Formerly employed as the public relations person for the Minneapolis Public Schools.)

Ms. Roz Abrams, Reporter
WXIA-TV
Atlanta, GA

Mr. Morris Thompson, Reporter
Miami Herald
Miami, FL

Ms. Jane Kashlak, Reporter
WHYY-TV
Wilmington, DE

Ms. Alexis S. Reeves, Editor
Intown Extra, Atlanta Journal and Constitution
Atlanta, GA

Mr. Leonard Pardue, Managing Editor
Louisville Times
Louisville, KY

Dr. Anthony Broh
Observer/Representative for the Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs
Duke University
Durham, NC

Attachment B

STATEMENT OF CHARGE

School Desegregation Research Agenda Symposium

Jan. 31 - Feb. 2, 1980

The College of Urban Development at Michigan State University has been contracted by the Office of Education to establish a proposed agenda for research on school desegregation that would be a guideline to the Office in planning funding of future research.

The College will be conducting idea-gathering seminars, in which persons who are or have been involved in key aspects of the desegregation process will offer their opinions on the need for further knowledge about desegregation.

Members of the communications industry have been noticeably absent from such exercises in the past, despite the important role they play in the desegregation process. We at the College hope that you can help us correct this oversight by participating in a closed working symposium at Michigan State University January 31, 1980 through February 2, 1980.

If you agree to become a participant, we would ask you to reflect upon your role in the communication of desegregation issues and events and ask you to consider the following:

1. Are there questions regarding the effects of segregation or desegregation upon students, families or communities that you would like answered?

2. Are there questions regarding your potential effect upon desegregation that you would like answered?

3. Is there research that you wish to be conducted to help you or your employer make proper decisions regarding conduct, posture or procedures while covering desegregation?

If possible try to establish three or four pieces of new knowledge that would be helpful to you when communicating about desegregation. Please respond to the above questions by December 15th so that we may disseminate your written response to other participants prior to the symposium. As a participant, you will be receiving the response of other participants prior to the symposium so that you will be prepared to discuss the issues that are raised.

Attachment C

PARTICIPANTS

School Desegregation Research Agenda Symposium

May 8 - 10, 1980

POLICY MAKERS

Dr. James Hawkins, Superintendent
Benton Harbor Schools
Benton Harbor, Michigan

Ms. Althea Simmons
NAACP, Washington Bureau
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Odell Nails, Superintendent
Pontiac Schools
Pontiac, Michigan

Dr. Joseph A. Cronin
State Superintendent
Illinois State Board of Education
Springfield, Illinois

Dr. John Porter, President
Eastern Michigan University
Ypsilanti, Michigan
(Former State School
Superintendent, Michigan)

Dr. Elbert Brooks, Superintendent
Metro-Nashville Public Schools
Nashville, Tennessee

Ms. Caroline Davis Gleiter
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Robert Evans, Director
K.E.D.S.
Kent State University
Kent, Ohio

Dr. Leo Lucas, President
Dayton School Board
Dayton, Ohio

Dr. Crystal Kuykendall,
Executive Director
National Association of Black
School Educators
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Edward Scaggs, President
Kansas City Board of Education
Kansas City, Missouri

Dr. Joseph E. Johnson
Deputy Superintendent
New Castle County Schools
Wilmington, Delaware

Mr. Robert Johnson,
Assistant to Interim
General Superintendent of Schools
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. David De Ruzzo
Chief Deputy Superintendent
Jefferson County Public Schools
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. John D. O'Bryant
Vice President
Boston School Committee
Boston, Massachusetts

Attachment D

STATEMENT OF CHARGE

School Desegregation Research Agenda Symposium

May 8 - 10, 1980

The College of Urban Development at Michigan State University has been contracted by the United States Office of Education to establish a proposed agenda for research on school desegregation. This agenda would serve as a guideline to the Office in planning funding for future desegregation research.

The College will be conducting idea-gathering seminars in which persons who are or have been involved in the desegregation process will exchange ideas and viewpoints on issues in need of clarification.

Members of the education policy-making community (i.e., school board members, school administrators, and other educational leaders) have played a crucial role in the desegregation process. It is important that an opportunity be provided for some of them to share their opinions and experiences. The symposium of May 8 - 10 has been planned with this objective.

In order to use the time most effectively, participants are being asked to indicate areas of particular concern in writing, in advance of the conference. The conference coordinators will synthesize and circulate a number of these questions so that participants may come prepared to discuss issues identified as being of priority concern to other attenders.

The following questions are posed to facilitate this process:

1. What particular questions regarding the effects of desegregation on students, families, or communities would you like to have discussed? (e.g., achievement, attitude change, community relations, employment of minorities, etc.)

2. What factors in the school desegregation process are of particular concern to policy makers? (e.g., community relations, teachers, unions, legal considerations, second generation problems, resegregation, ancillary relief, etc.)

3. What specific research might better assist you in developing policy with regard to school desegregation?

In addition to your comments on these questions, we would also appreciate receiving suggestions for three or four new areas of possible research that would be helpful in the area of school desegregation. These responses should be received in our office by April 21.

Conference Coordinator: Dr. Charlene Savage
Office of the Dean
College of Urban Development
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48824

(517) 353-9533
353-4601

Attachment E

PARTICIPANTS

School Desegregation Research Agenda Symposium

May 29 - 31, 1980

JUDGES

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U. S. District Court
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Honorable Nathaniel Jones
U. S. Court of Appeals - District
Cincinnati, Ohio

ATTORNEYS

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Leo Goddeyne *
Law Clerk for Judge Noel Fox
U. S. District Court
Grand Rapids, Michigan

*observer

Attachment F

STATEMENT OF CHARGE

School Desegregation Research Agenda Symposium

May 29 - 31, 1980

The College of Urban Development at Michigan State University has been contracted by the United States Office of Education to establish a proposed agenda for research on school desegregation. This agenda would serve as a guideline to the Office in planning funding for future desegregation research.

The College will be conducting idea-gathering seminars, in which persons who are or have been involved in the desegregation process will exchange ideas and viewpoints on issues where further knowledge is needed.

Members of the legal profession (i.e., judges and attorneys) have played a crucial role in the desegregation process. It is important that an opportunity be provided for some of them to share their opinions and experiences. The symposium of May 29 - 31 has been planned with this objective.

In order to use the time most effectively, participants are being asked to indicate areas of particular concern in writing, in advance of the conference. The conference coordinators will synthesize and circulate a number of these questions so that participants may come prepared to discuss issues identified as being of priority concern to other attenders.

The following questions are posed to facilitate this process:

1. Are there questions regarding the effects of court decisions upon students, families or communities that you would like answered?

2. What legal or educational information do you wish you had available on which to base appropriate remedies in desegregation cases?

3. Given the achievement of racial balance in the schools, what knowledge would you find useful in determining appropriate action to provide equitable educational opportunity in such schools? (i.e., What is necessary for determining whether children have equitable education within a school with balanced population?)

4. Is there specific research that you would like to have carried out that would assist you in developing cases or making decisions regarding desegregation?

In addition to your comments on these questions, we would also appreciate receiving suggestions for three or four areas of new areas of research that would be helpful in the area of school desegregation.

Attachment G

Research Questions Generated by Journalists

1. How has the implementation of school desegregation affected the way parents and teachers view each other?

2. Do black and white students react differently to the implementation of desegregation?

3. How do reactions vary among age and grade levels?

4. How does the ratio of blacks to whites affect attitudes?

5. How do parents, students, teachers, and community members perceive desegregation? i.e. Do they see it as beneficial or detrimental?

6. a. How do students, parents, teachers, et. al., define desegregation?

   b. How do their perceptions of desegregation change as the implementation progresses?

   c. How do these perceptions affect achievement?

7. Is the public interested in reading (hearing) about desegregation (beyond their own local, personal cases)?

8. What aspects of school desegregation could be better covered by the media?

9. a. What financial burden does the implementation of school desegregation impose, and how is this burden distributed?

   b. Does anyone bear a disproportionate or unfair share?

10. a. How does the desegregation time table affect the orderliness of the process?

    b. How does it affect public acceptance of the process?

11. Does the public response to desegregation vary between those cities where the media and school and community officials worked together during implementation and those where there was no collaboration?

12. What effect, if any, does the presence of the media (e.g., TV cameras) have on people's behavior? (Could it have an inflammatory effect?)

13. Where do students, parents, and teachers get their information about the desegregation process?

14. Which has more influence--the media or interpersonal communication?

15. What information is most likely to foster opposition to desegregation?

16. To what degree do people trust the information they get from the media?

17. Does school violence affect the dropout rate?

18. What is the relationship between perceived violence and actual violence?

19. How many students who drop out due to violence, enroll in another school and how many don't finish school?

20. How does the ratio of black to white students affect the success of a desegregation plan?

21. Does the direction of busing (i.e., blacks to white schools; whites to black schools) affect the success of a desegregation plan?

22. Is there any correlation between a community's reaction to desegregation and whether or not the school board is elected or appointed?

23. What is a workable desegregation plan?

24. Can plans "designed for failure" be identified?

25. Is there a way to look at the motivation of those who design desegregation plans and correlate it with the success of the plans?

26. Are large city schools increasingly black due to white flight or because children of white urban families are beyond school age?

27. What effect does the post baby boom decline of school age children have on racial mix in urban schools?

28. To what extent are learning problems among poorer populations due to deficiencies in the schools? To what extent do malnutrition, unemployment or other social problems cause learning problems?

29. What are the post desegregation changes in curriculum?

30. How have post desegregation changes in curriculum affected learning?

31. Has desegregation caused any changes in teachers' unions?

32. Can the impact of media actually be measured?

33. What are the ways that resegregation can manifest itself?

34. How can the communication gulf between media personnel and education personnel be bridged?

35. What is the relationship between what happens to kids in the city and what happens to them in the suburbs?

36. a. Where are the teachers who were shifted as a result of desegregation?

    b. How are they doing?

37. What are the effects of court ordered parent participation, such as in Boston?

38. How has the implementation of school desegregation affected students, attitudes toward and perceptions of each others?

39. Do achievement test scores increase with desegregation for blacks or for whites?

40. How do achievement levels compare in the North and South after desegregation?

41. Is there a correlation between test scores and the size of the city?

42. Have academic expectations for children declined with desegregation?

43. Have achievement goals for the various class levels declined with desegregation?

44. a. What effect does economic integration have on the success of desegregation?

    b. How does it affect achievement?

    c. Conversely, do schools with predominantly poor student populations tend to have poor achievement records?

45. What are the characteristics of successful magnet schools?

46. What are the characteristics of quality education?

47. a. What, specifically, are the objections to busing or desegregation?

    b. If blacks are against it, what are their reasons?

48. Journalists asked for a handbook which would include the following:

a. Definitions--e.g., non-racial, unitary system; white flight; desegregation; voluntary desegregation; court-ordered desegregation.

b. History of desegregation--List desegregation cases. What cases set precedents? Salient points of each decision.

c. Brief description of the various desegregation plans--teacher and student assignment; pairing; clustering; etc.

d. Cases which courts have refused to hear.

e. List of desegregation researchers and their areas of interest.

f. Bibliography

g. Research centers--phone numbers, addresses

h. Financial aspects of desegregation--cost of busing; legal fees; cost per student of litigation; cost per student of implementation.

i. Status of cases still in court.

Attachment H

Research Questions Generated by

School Administrators and Policy Makers

1. Is busing an effective technique for achieving equal educational opportunity?
2. In what situations are magnet schools successful?
3. Does desegregation improve achievement?
4. Does desegregation foster racial tolerance or harmony?
5. Does desegregation bring the community closer to the school or farther from it?
6. Has violence increased in desegregated schools?
7. Is white flight a myth? That is, would school populations have decreased anyway even if desegregation had not taken place?
8. What kind of education system do people want? That is, do they prefer the voucher plan, magnet schools, or some other arrangement?
9. What is the relationship between declining tax bases (declining resources) and teacher attitudes and expectations for students?
10. Does desegregation increase political activity in an area?
11. Are parents willing to send kids to a "good" school even if it is some distance from their home?
12. Through what means is it possible to give language minorities the perception that desegregation has something to offer them?
13. What can be done to help school board members be positive about desegregation? Would some type of in-service training be effective?
14. What are some techniques by which it would be possible to foster positive attitudes about desegregating after-school activities?
15. Who are the black leaders associated with desegregation? Are they representative of black opinion, or are they chosen by the white power structure?

16. What do educators, parents, administrators, the media and students see as the purpose of desegregation? What do federal judges see as the purpose of desegregation?

17. What has happened to black administrators in the desegregation process? Have they been demoted, promoted into "invisible" positions, or eliminated as role models?

18. What effect does politics (e.g., moves for anti-busing amendments, anti-busing riders on appropriations bills) have on the effective administration of desegregation?

19. Under what circumstances would teacher unions be supportive of staff and student desegregation?

20. Is desegregation really providing equal educational opportunity?

21. Is desegregation creating some additional educational consequences such as the exclusion of some from the educational process?

22. How can a joint partnership be formed between the business community, the school community, and the various interest groups, the purpose of which would be to prepare leaders of the future?

23. Are we moving toward a federal school system through desegregation?

24. What is the tipping point on balance of racial groups that determines whether a school district is resegregating?

25. How can school districts determine what enrollment patterns would have been had desegregation not occurred? A projection formula for enrollment needs to be devised so that "white flight" cannot be used as an argument against desegregation.

26. Is desegregation based on race or social class?

27. What have school systems done creatively to avoid such second generation problems as resegregation, questions of discipline, lack of minority representation on faculty and in administrative positions, lack of minority student participation, lack of majority student population and extracurricular activities?

28. What role have Hispanics played in desegregation?

29. What is a desegregated school?

30. What impact do housing patterns really have on our ability to desegregate our school districts?

31. How can school boards be effective in view of the fact that they are so political?

32. When the burden of desegregating the schools is put on black students, do they suffer negative consequences? If so, what are they?

33. What is the role of media in hyping up desegregation issues?

34. What are the roles of parents and citizens in the entire process of desegregation?

35. What different impact is there in a school system in carrying out integration where the blacks are a minority, rather than a majority in that system?

36. What are the effects on achievement levels, attitudes, self-concept, and discipline problems of black students bused to schools where they are in the minority as opposed to those black students who remain in the segregated school setting?

37. What are the effects on achievement levels, attitudes, self-concept, and discipline problems of white students bused to schools where they are in the minority as opposed to those white students who remain in the segregated school setting?

38. Is there a decline of support from the black community if noncontiguous schools are used for busing?

39. Can preventive programs such as early childhood education accomplish the same positive results as does racial integration on achievement and self-concepts.

40. What are the differences between desegregation and integration.

41. As the median age of the American population becomes older, and as people become more concerned with issues affecting the aged, how is this going to impact on the education of elementary and secondary school age children?

42. How are district boundary lines determined and shifted? What is the political meaning of boundary lines as they relate to desegregation? What role does the state play in reinforcing the boundary lines and serving this protected class?

43. What are the new and emerging trends in past court decisions that have implications for the development of school desegregation patterns?

44. What impact does an expert have on a judge during desegregation litigations?

45. What are the risks associated with desegregation, as seen by school board members? Are there differences in the perception of risks between appointed and elected board members?

46. Are there differences in the behavior of appointed and elected school boards?

47. What are the effects of desegregating school district staff and how often has it actually been accomplished?

48. What are the effects of Title I on achievement within desegregating and desegregated districts?

49. What is the cost of desegregation, and how can the cost be broken down and accounted for?

50. What impact would in-service training have on the decision-making practices of school board members?

51. Does desegregation result in greater interracial participation in community organizations?

52. What discrepancies exist between the original intent of court orders and their eventual outcomes over time?

53. Does the behavior of a school board vary as a function of the racial class of its membership on school desegregation issues?

54. What is the relationship between affirmative action and school desegregation within a school district?

55. In terms of academic quality, are private schools in fact superior to public schools?

Attachment I

Research Questions

Generated by Attorneys and Judges

1. What are the alternative means available for the implementation of court-ordered desegregation, and which are most effective?

2. What evidence is there of the legitimacy and effectiveness of ancillary relief programs? What is the relationship between these programs and the objectives of a court-ordered desegregation plan?

3. What are the most effective ancillary relief measures?

4. What is the psychological impact of segregation and desegregation on both minority and majority students?

5. What is the relationship between desegregation, achievement, and self-esteem?

6. What is the effect of desegregation on students' aspirations and subsequent educational and career attainment?

7. Is desegregation effective in increasing mobility for minority students? If so, what are the characteristics of schools which are effective in increasing mobility?

8. What is the effect of a desegregation remedy on the distribution of educational resources in a community?

9. What is the impact of desegregation on the educational process?

10. How do different segments of the community perceive the school system (particularly the quality of education) following desegregation?

11. What is the long-term impact of a desegregation remedy, i.e., a longitudinal study of a system undergoing desegregation is needed.

12. What is the nature of resistance to court-ordered desegregation? What can be done to neutralize this resistance?

13. What effect do the perceptions and attitudes of the school staff have on the implementation of desegregation, and what can be done to improve attitudes of school staff?

14. What types of in-service training programs are effective in changing or improving staff's inter-racial attitudes and behaviors?

15. What is effective or quality education, and what are the components of quality education?

16. How are educational goals and objectives defined? Are they or should they be the same for all students? What are the differences between districts which achieve their educational goals and districts which do not?

17. Are there different learning styles? If so, how should education be designed to take these differences into account?

18. What are the characteristics of effective teachers and effective teaching methods?

19. What methods of education are most effective for minority students?

20. What educational model can be developed for minority students other than the current compensatory or remedial education model?

21. What is the effect of desegregation on attitudes of white parents, students, teachers and administrators?

22. How do parents view a school system before, during, and after desegregation?

23. Have some school districts been strengthened as a result of desegregation because of the close scrutiny the districts undergo?

24. What is the impact of black and white role models on black and white students across races?

25. Is there a relationship between racial attitudes and the academic achievement of blacks?

26. Is it better to bus children across political lines and/or economic lines rather than across racial lines?

27. Has desegregation caused people to feel that they have lost control of the government and their lives? If so, is this a local, regional, or general phenomenon?

28. How do parents' views of instructional quality and quality of materials before desegregation compare with their views after desegregation? What changes are observable in teachers and administrators?

29. Does quality of educational inputs affect the quality of educational outcomes?

Attachment J

COMMON ISSUES OF CONCERN

The questions generated by School Administrators and Policy Makers, Attorneys, and Journalists during three Desegregation Symposia are categorized below by issue.

L = Question generated by Attorneys

A = Question generated by School Administrators

J = Question generated by Journalists

Quality Education

1. What is effective or quality education, and what are the components of quality education? (L, J)

2. How are educational goals and objectives defined? Are they or should they be the same for all students? What are the differences between districts which achieve their educational goals and districts which do not? (L)

3. What are the characteristics of effective teachers and effective teaching methods? (L)

4. What methods of education are most effective for minority students? (L)

5. In terms of academic quality, are private schools, in fact, superior to public schools? (A)

The Desegregation Process

1. Is desegregation really providing equal educational opportunity? (A)

2. What is a workable desegregation plan? (J)

3. Can plans "designed for failure" be identified? (J)

4. Is there a way to look at the motivation of those who design desegregation plans and correlate it with the success of the plans? (J)

5. How does the desegregation timetable affect the orderliness of the process? How does it affect public acceptance of the process? (J)

6. What impact does an expert have on a judge during desegregation litigations? (A)

7. What are the new and emerging trends in past court decisions that have implications for the development of school desegregation patterns? (A)

8. What effect does politics (e.g., moves for anti-busing amendments, anti-busing riders on appropriations bills) have on the effective administration of desegregation? (A)

9. What is the relationship between what happens to kids in the city and what happens to them in the suburbs when desegregation is ordered? (J)

10. Have some school districts been strengthened as a result of desegregation because of the close scrutiny the districts undergo? (L)

11. What discrepancies exist between the original intent of court orders and their eventual outcomes over time? (A)

12. What is the long-term impact of a desegregation remedy? i.e., a longitudinal study of a system undergoing desegregation is needed. (L)

Resegregation

1. What are the ways that resegregation can manifest itself? (J)

2. What is the tipping point on balance of racial groups that determines whether a school district is resegregating? (A)

3. What have school systems done creatively to avoid such second generation problems as resegregation, questions of discipline, lack of minority representation on faculty and in administrative positions, lack of minority student participation, lack of majority student population and extracurricular activities? (A)

4. Is desegregation creating some additional educational consequences such as the exclusion of some from the educational process? (A)

Ancillary Relief

1. What evidence is there of the legitimacy and effectiveness of ancillary relief programs? What is the relationship between these programs and the objectives of a court-ordered desegregation plan? (L)

2. What are the most effective ancillary relief measures? (L)

3. What types of in-service training programs are effective in changing or improving staff interracial attitudes and behaviors? (L)

4. What can be done to help school board members be positive about desegregation? Would some type of in-service training be effective? (A)

5. What are some techniques by which it would be possible to foster positive attitudes about desegregating after-school activities? (A)

Curriculum

1. What are the post desegregation changes in curriculum? Have they affected learning? (J)

2. Are there different learning styles? If so, how should education be designed to take these differences into account? (L)

3. What educational model can be developed for minority students other than the current compensatory or remedial education model? (L, A, J)

The Relationship between Desegregation and Achievement

1. Have academic expectations (achievement goals) for school children declined with desegregation? (J)

2. Do achievement test scores increase with desegregation for blacks or for whites? (J, A, L)

3. How do achievement levels compare in the North and South consequent to desegregation? (J)

4. Is there a correlation between test scores and the size of the city? (J)

5. What is the effect of desegregation on students' aspirations and subsequent educational and career attainment? (L)

6. Is desegregation effective in increasing mobility for minority students? If so, what are the characteristics of schools which are effective in increasing mobility? (L)

7. Is there a relationship between racial attitudes and the academic achievement of blacks? (L)

Student Racial Ratios

1. How does the ratio of blacks to whites affect attitudes? (J)

2. What different impact is there in a school system in carrying out integration where the blacks are a minority, rather than a majority in that system?

3. What are the effects on achievement levels, attitudes, self-concept, and discipline problems of black students bused to schools where they are in the minority as opposed to those black students who remain in the segregated school setting? (A)

4. What are the effects on achievement levels, attitudes, self-concept, and discipline problems of white students bused to schools where they are in the minority as opposed to those white students who remain in the segregated school setting? (A)

5. When the burden of desegregating the schools is put on black students, do they suffer negative consequences? If so, what are they? (A)

6. How does the ratio of black to white students affect the success of a desegregation plan? (J)

7. Does the direction of busing (i.e. blacks to white schools; whites to black schools) affect the success of desegregation plans? (J)

Attitudes/Reactions to Desegregation

1. Do black and white students react differently to the implementation of desegregation? (J, A)

2. How do reactions vary among age and grade levels? (J)

3. How has the implementation of school desegregation affected students' attitudes toward the perceptions of each other? (J)

4. What is the relationship between desegregation and self-esteem? (J)

5. What is the effect of desegregation on attitudes of white parents, students, teachers and administrators? (L)

6. How has the implementation of school desegregation affected the way parents and teachers view each other? (J)

7. Does desegregation foster racial tolerance or harmony? (A)

Definitions and Perceptions of Desegregation

1. What is a desegregated school? (A)

2. What are the differences between desegregation and integration? (A)

3. What do educators, parents, administrators, the media and students see as the purpose of desegregation? What do Federal judges see as the purpose of desegregation? (A)

4. How do parents, students, teachers, community members perceive desegregation? i.e. Do they see it as beneficial or detrimental? (J)

   a. How do students, parents, teachers, et al. define desegregation?

   b. How do their perceptions of desegregation change as the implementation progresses?

   c. How do these perceptions affect achievement?

5. How do different segments of the community perceive the school system (particularly the quality of education) following desegregation? (L)

6. What effect do the perceptions and attitudes of school staff have on the implementation of desegregation, and what can be done to improve attitudes of school staff? (L)

Effects of Desegregation on School Staffs

1. What are the effects of desegregating school district staffs and how often has it actually been accomplished? (A)

2. Where are the teachers who were shifted as a result of desegregation? How are they doing? (J)

3. What has happened to black administrators in the desegregation process? Have they been demoted, promoted into "invisible" positions, or eliminated as role models? (A)

4. What is the impact of black and white role models on black and white students across races? (L)

The Role of Parents in Desegregation

1. What are the roles of parents and citizens in the entire process of desegregation? (A)

2. What are the effects of court-ordered parent participation such as in Boston? (A)

3. How do parents view a school system before, during and after desegregation? (L)

4. How do parents' views of instructional quality and quality of materials before desegregation compared with their views after desegregation? What changes are observable in teachers and administrators? (L)

5. Are parents willing to send kids to a "good" school even if it is some distance from their home? (A)

The Effect of Desegregation on the Community

1. Does desegregation bring the community closer to the school or farther from it? (A)

2. Does desegregation result in greater interracial participation in community organizations? (A)

3. Does desegregation increase political activity in an area? (A)

4. Has desegregation caused people to feel that they have lost control of the government and their lives? If so, is this a local, regional, or general phenomenon? (L)

Economic Desegregation

1. What effect does economic integration have on the success of desegregation? How does it affect achievement? Conversely, do schools with predominantly poor student populations tend to have poor achievement records? (J)

2. Is it more preferable to desegregate along social/economic or political lines rather than racial lines? How would this affect the public's response to busing? (A, L)

3. To what extent are learning problems among poorer populations due to deficiencies in the schools? To what extent are they due to malnutrition, unemployment or other social problems? (J)

Language Minorities

1. Through what means is it possible to give language minorities the perception that desegregation has something to offer them? (A)

2. What role have Hispanics played in desegregation? (A)

Alternatives to Busing

1. Is busing an effective technique for achieving equal educational opportunity? (A)

2. What are the alternative means available for the implementation of court-ordered desegregation, and which are most effective? (L)

3. What are the characteristics of successful magnet schools? (J, L)

Opposition to Busing/Desegregation

1. What is the nature of resistance to court-ordered desegregation? What can be done to neutralize this resistance? (L)

2. What, specifically, are the objections to busing or desegregation? If blacks are against it, what are their reasons? (J)

3. Is there a decline of support from the black community if non-contiguous schools are used for busing? (A)

School Violence

1. Has violence increased in desegregated schools? (A)

2. What is the relationship between perceived violence and actual violence? (J)

3. Does school violence affect the dropout rate? (J)

4. How many students who drop out due to violence, enroll in another school and how many don't finish school? (J)

Demographic Issues

1. Are large city schools increasingly black due to white flight or because children of white urban families are beyond school age? (i.e., because children born during the peak years of the baby boom are now past school age?) (J, A)

2. As the median age of the American population becomes older, and as people become more concerned with issues affecting the aged, how is this going to impact on the education of elementary and secondary school age children? (A)

3. How are district boundary lines determined and shifted? What is the political meaning of boundary lines as they relate to desegregation? What role does the state play in reinforcing the boundary lines and serving this protected class? (A)

4. What impact do housing patterns really have on our ability to desegregate our school districts? (A)

Financial

1. What financial burdens does the implementation of school desegregation impose, and are the burdens distributed? Does anyone bear a disproportionate or unfair share? (J)

2. What is the cost of desegregation, and how can the cost be broken down and accounted for? (A)

3. Does the quality of educational inputs affect quality of educational outcomes? (L)

4. What is the effect of a desegregation remedy on the distribution of educational resources in a community? (J)

5. What is the relationship between declining tax bases (declining resources) and teacher attitudes and expectations for students? (A)

School Board Behavior

1. How can school boards be effective in view of the fact that they are so political? (A)

2. Are there differences in the behavior of appointed and elected school boards? (A)

3. Does the behavior of a school board vary as a function of the racial class of its membership on school desegregation issues? (J)

4. What are the risks associated with desegregation, as seen by school board members? Are there differences in the perception of risks between appointed and elected board members? (A)

Teachers Unions

1. Has desegregation caused any changes in teachers' unions? (J)

2. Under what circumstances would teacher unions be supportive of staff and student desegregation? (A)

Media-Related Issues

1. Is the public interested in reading (hearing) about desegregation beyond their own local, personal cases? (J)

2. What aspects of school desegregation could be better covered by the media? (J)

3. Does the public response to desegregation vary between those cities where the media and school and community officials worked together during implementation and those where there was no collaboration? (J)

4. What effect, if any, does the presence of the media (e.g., TV cameras) have on people's behavior? (Could it have an inflammatory effect?) (J)

5. Where do students, parents, teachers get their information about the desegregation process? (J)

6. Which has more influence--the media or interpersonal communication? (J)

7. What information is most likely to bring about support or opposition to desegregation? (J)

8. To what degree do people trust the information they get from the media? (J)

9. What is the role of media in hyping up desegregation issues? (A)

10. Can the impact of media actually be measured? (J)

11. How can the communication gulf between media personnel and education personnel be bridged? (J)

Miscellaneous

1. How can a joint partnership be formed between the business community, the school community, and the various interest groups, the purpose of which would be to prepare leaders of the future? (A)

2. Are we moving toward a federal school system through desegregation? (A)

3. What is the relationship between affirmative action and school desegregation within a school district? (A)

4. Who are the black leaders associated with desegregation? Are they representative of black opinion, or are they chosen by the white power structure? (A)

5. What kind of education system do people want? That is, do they prefer the voucher plan, magnet schools, or some other arrangement? (A)

6. Can preventive programs such as early childhood education accomplish the same positive results as does racial integration on achievement and self-concept? (A)

7. What are the effects of Title I on achievement within desegregating and desegregated schools? (A)

Attachment K

Unique Research Issues

Questions that are of unique concern to media representatives:

1. Is the public interested in reading (hearing) about desegregation (beyond their own local, personal cases)?

2. What aspects of school desegregation could be better covered by the media?

3. Does the public response to desegregation vary between those cities where the media and school and community officials worked together during implementation and those where there was no collaboration?

4. What effect, if any, does the presence of the media (e.g., TV cameras) have on people's behavior? (Could it have an inflammatory effect?)

5. Where do students, parents, teachers get their information about the desegregation process?

6. Which has more influence--the media or interpersonal communication?

7. What information is most likely to bring about support or opposition to desegregation?

8. To what degree do people trust the information they get from the media?

9. Can the impact of media actually be measured?

10. How can the communication gulf between media personnel and education personnel be bridged?

11. Media representatives asked for a handbook which would include the following:

    a. Definitions--e.g., non-racial, unitary system; white flight; desegregation; voluntary desegregation; court-ordered desegregation.
    b. History of desegregation--List desegregation cases. What set precedents: Salient points of each decision.
    c. Brief description of the various desegregation plans--teacher and student assignment; pairing; clustering.
    d. Cases which courts have refused to hear.
    e. List of desegregation researchers and their areas of interest.
    f. Bibliography

g. Research centers--phone numbers, addresses
h. Financial aspects of desegregation--cost of busing; legal fees; cost per student of litigation; cost per student of implementation
i. Status of cases still in court.

12. Journalists also cited the need for a national data pool or clearinghouse from which they could obtain information that is non-opinionated, unbiased, and prepared by experts.

Questions that are of unique concern to policy makers:

1. What is the relationship between declining tax bases (declining resources) and teacher attitudes and expectations for students?

2. Does desegregation increase political activity in an area?

3. What can be done to help school board members be positive about desegregation: Would some type of in-service training be effective?

4. Who are the black leaders associated with desegregation? Are they representative of black opinion, or are they chosen by the white power structure?

5. What do educators, parents, administrators, the media and students see as the purpose of desegregation? What do Federal Judges see as the purpose of desegregation?

6. What has happened to black administrators in the desegregation process? Have they been demoted, promoted into "invisible" positions, or eliminated as role models?

7. What effect does politics (e.g., moves for anti-busing amendments, anti-busing riders on appropriations bills) have on the effective administration of desegregation?

8. Under what circumstances would teacher unions be supportive of staff and student desegregation?

9. How can a joint partnership be formed between the business community, the school community, and the various interest groups, the purpose of which would be to prepare leaders of the future?

10. What have school systems done creatively to avoid such second generation problems as resegregation, questions of discipline, lack of minority representation on faculty and in administrative positions, lack of minority student participation, lack of majority student population and extracurricular activities?

11. What are the risks associated with desegregation, as seen by school board members? Are there differences in the perception of risks between appointed and elected board members?

12. Are there differences in the behavior of appointed and elected school boards?

13. Does the behavior of a school board vary as a function of the racial class of its membership on school desegregation issues?

Questions that are of unique interest to attorneys and judges:

1. What are the effects of court ordered parent participation such as in Boston?

2. What are the new and emerging trends in past court decisions that have implications for the development of school desegregation patterns?

3. What impact does an expert witness have on a judge during desegregation litigation?

4. What discrepancies exist between the original intent of court orders and their eventual outcomes over time?

5. What are the alternative means available for the implementation of court-ordered desegregation, and which are most effective?

6. What evidence is there of the legitimacy and effectiveness of ancillary relief programs? What is the relationship between these programs and the objectives of a court-ordered desegregation plan?

7. What is the effect of a desegregation remedy on the distribution of educational resources in a community?

8. What is the nature of resistance to court-ordered desegregation? What can be done to neutralize this resistance?